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THE EFFECT OF LINCOLN UNIVERSITY UPON THE LEADERS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA

by

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SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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The undersigned certify that they have read,
and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for
acceptance, a thesis entitled

THE EFFECT OF LINCOLN UNIVERSITY UPON

THE LEADERS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA

submitted by Evelyn Rowand

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts

OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

In an address to a joint meeting of the Royal African Society and the Royal Commonwealth Society on July 5, 1962, Dr. Davidson Nicol, Principal of the University College of Sierra Leone, said to the assembled company:

It has always struck me as being odd that no one has studied the influence of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, (a small American Negro college - to which both Dr. Azikiwe and President Nkrumah went -) on West Africa. So many Nigerian, Ghanaian and Sierra Leone leaders who influence events in West Africa have been to this college - that it is surprising that amongst the increasing number of master's and doctorate theses on West Africa, there is none on this subject. It is important because these leading figures do not come from British universities; they come from American universities and to the great convenience of all of us they come to a great extent from that one institution, Lincoln. I once seized an opportunity to ask the distinguished High Commissioner in Britain from Sierra Leone, Dr. Fitzjohn, about life at Lincoln University, and have in fact talked to Dr. Horace Mann Bond who for long was President of Lincoln about his university some years ago; I hope one day myself to visit it. It seems to me by my inference from them that the atmosphere of Lincoln must have laid a great deal of emphasis on self-help, pragmatism and nationalism.*

This thesis is an attempt to remedy that oversight.

The author is only too well aware of the nebulous nature of such a work. Intellectual speculation is never a cut-and-dried affair. When one is dealing with human personalities it is that much more difficult. One's evaluation of the effect of Lincoln University upon, say Azikiwe or Nkrumah, will depend upon one's own race, nationality, religion, social and economic background - and possibly upon a variety of other imponderables.

*Dr. Davidson Nicol, "Politics, Nationalism and Universities in Africa", African Affairs, Vol. 62, no. 246, January, 1963.

Source material is open to the same criticism; or at any rate it presents the same difficulty. A good deal of it is simply a matter of opinion. The published works of Lincoln graduates, their personal letters and speeches where these seem relevant have all been examined. Lincoln University keeps two files on its most famous alumni: the Alumni Office keeps a file of articles by them and about them; the Registrar's Office keeps a file of letters received from these alumni as well as copies of letters written to them by University staff members. Unfortunately, over the years some of this correspondence seems to have disappeared. There are references to statements in previous letters which do not now exist.

Staff members have been interviewed in an effort to fill in these blanks; but as twenty years have gone by since Nkrumah was at Lincoln, and thirty years since Azikiwe left there, staff members who knew these men and have dealt with them are very few.

Finally, African students of the 1963/64 Lincoln University academic year were interviewed and asked for their opinion of the university's influence upon them and upon their native countries. The results were somewhat disappointing since only two students were apparently available for interviews. Both were highly intelligent and articulate - but both were Nigerian, although one was an Ibibio and one a Yoruba.

PREFACE

The author wishes to express her gratitude to faculty members at Lincoln University for their kindness and co-operation. Permission to do research there, and assurance of a welcome, were given by the President, Dr. Marvin Wachman. Dr. H. Alfred Farrell made working conditions very pleasant by finding a large, airy room in which I might work undisturbed. Mrs. Dorothy Millbourne provided various files and other data, typed out data that could not be thermofaxed and worked very hard to finish the report upon which Chapter II is based.

Dr. Donald C. Yelton compiled the foregoing report. He also pointed out various books and pamphlets in the library that proved useful. Dr. Paul Kuehner allowed me access to the Letter Files of Nkrumah and Azikiwe. Both he and Dr. Yelton gave me information and advice which were invaluable.

Finally, when analysis of the results yielded by research seemed to demand confirmation in some instances, and a little more research in others, Dr. Kuehner and Dr. Yelton volunteered to "fill in the holes" and send on the information. It would be difficult to exaggerate my debt of gratitude to them.

Evelyn Rowand

University of Alberta
September, 1964.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1944 an English journalist sought out Dr. Paul Kuehner, Registrar of Lincoln University, for an interview regarding the school of journalism at that institution. His interest had been aroused by the journalistic activities of one Nnamdi Azikiwe on the Gold Coast and in Nigeria. As he was leaving he said, "Someday, when the history of West Africa is being written, one of the most important single factors in that history will be Linclon University."

It is doubtful if this nameless journalist foresaw that in less than twenty years Lincoln graduates would be heads of state in two emergent nations. Certainly Dr. Kuehner did not and readily admits his lack of clairvoyance. It is nonetheless true that this small, essentially Negro university, which has seldom numbered more than four hundred students, has succeeded in supplying West Africa with its two most dynamic leaders. Indeed, although West Africa has priority, all Africa claims Nkrumah and Azikiwe - for it was they who first proved that Africans must and should be free to govern themselves.

These are facts that cannot be disputed but hereafter agreement ends. Was it the influence of Lincoln University which made Nkrumah and Azikiwe leaders of men or was it something inherent in themselves? Azikiwe, for instance is an Ibo, a tribe which has sometimes been called the "Yankees of Africa". Perhaps he went to Lincoln

because like calls to like, even across the seas. Perhaps any American university would have made the same impact. Finally, perhaps had he never gone to America, or been an Ibo, he would still have been Nnamdi Azikiwe, a leader of men.

Obviously one can only speculate. However, it is not always what is true but what men think is true that is important. The Nigerian students interviewed agreed upon one vital concept: those who have been educated in British institutions consider themselves an elite. They widen the gap between the small group which has had the benefit of a western education and the masses, a gap which has more need of being closed. As one of them said, "Azikiwe sits down on the ground with the people."

Perhaps the classic example of this attitude, because it is so transparently honest, unsophisticated and unsolicited is the following letter to the faculty at Lincoln University. It was written by W.C.N. Addy, a Grade 10 student at Washington Carver Institute, Accra on June 23, 1949.

Before the second world war, we had no knowledge about the progress of American negroes in the field of education. We of the western part of Africa are clamouring for American education for, we have seen, heard and read about a few products from your university and universities. To-day a man like Kawane Nkrumah is doing wonders, he is one of the outstanding political, educator, philanthropist, and emancipator of our dear land of the Gold Coast to-day.

He is known as Ghana bull dog and Apostle of freedom.*

*Lincoln University - Alumni file.

CHAPTER I

A SHORT HISTORY OF LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

Some twenty-five miles south-west of Philadelphia, a stranger will notice cannon on a rise of land and gravestones by the roadside. This is the site of the famous Battle of Brandywine, fought on September 11, 1777. A friendly resident of the area may point out that a certain stone house on the right was Washington's headquarters. The next, almost identical structure was the headquarters of Lafayette, then nineteen years old and newly arrived to fight for "freedom". Even a Canadian of United Empire Loyalist descent cannot fail to be suitably impressed. It seems logical that an African fighting for freedom against the same colonial overlord would be that much more impressed. It is, in fact, historic country. The Revolution and all it stood for seem very real down there.

Twenty miles further, on the left hand side of the highway, stands a simple arch. Beyond lie scattered buildings, ancient trees, an uncluttered landscape. This is Lincoln University.

Lincoln owes its existence to the Reverend John Miller Dickey of Oxford, Pennsylvania, some five miles away. In 1853 the Reverend Dickey preached a sermon in the Oxford Presbyterian Church in which he proposed founding a college, "an institution to be called Ashmun Institute, for the scientific, classical, and theological education of the colored youth of the male sex." The Presbyterian General Assembly responded nobly and on April 29, 1854 the new school was chartered by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

It will be recalled that in 1821 the American Colonization Society bought land in what is now Liberia, to repatriate "free" Negroes. The Ashmun Institute was founded to Christianize the new "Republic". Both have been charged by African nationalists with having as their primary goal the expulsion of the Negro from American shores. There is doubtless some truth in this criticism. The Dual Mandate is not peculiar to the British. It should also be remembered, however, that the Protestant Conscience was then at its height. Many an earnest man was honestly convinced that Negroes would be happier in Africa. They did not realize that one small section of Africa is as different from another as Canada is from Mexico.

The American Colonization Society hired Jehudi Ashmun (a white man), Professor of Classical Literature at the Maine Charity School, Hampden, Maine, to shepherd free Negroes to their new homeland. In May, 1822, Ashmun and his wife sailed for Liberia in charge of a party of 53 prospective colonists. Mrs. Ashmun died the following September but Ashmun stayed on, struggling against almost insuperable difficulties, nursing the infant colony along as best he might. In 1828 Mr. Ashmun too fell ill and sailed for home; but it was by then too late. He died fifteen days after arriving at Newark, at the age of 35. It was in tribute to the life of this man that John Miller Dickey named his new school "Ashmun Institute".

On December 31, 1856 the Reverend Cortlandt Van Rensselaer dedicated Ashmun Hall:

In the name of the God of Ethiopia and our God . . . for the training of Africa's sons The Ashmun Institute stands like a nursing mother, appointed to God to watch her opportunity by the Nile of turbid and overflowing worldliness:

and she longs to rescue some noble Africans from their bark of slime, and to train them for the statesmanship of a great and growing Republic. (Liberia)

. . . African civilization is destined to demonstrate THE EQUALITY OF THE RACES as member of the human family. . . . In the "set time" of the divine purposes, the Negro race shall be elevated intellectually, morally, and politically, to equal dignity with other races of mankind. God will be glorified in Africa.

May this institute stand like the African palm tree, majestic for stateliness and beauty, the emblem of prosperity; its fruit giving food, and its shade affording rest, to thousands and tens of thousands in the ancestral tropical land.¹

By 1871, the Institute had trained seven Americo-Liberians. In 1872-3 ten natives of Liberia were brought over to be trained for service in their homeland. It was believed that members of the Negro race were immune to the ravages of the climate and endemic diseases of tropical Africa which had proved so deadly to white men. The theory of racial immunity had perforce to be discarded when four of five Negro missionaries sickened and died. Only southern Negroes who had already been exposed to malaria usually survived.

The work went on, but not without great difficulty. In 1866 Dickey changed the name of Ashmun Institute to "Lincoln University", explaining that the college was adopting new and extended goals. It now proposed to teach at the university level and would enroll students "of every clime and complexion". Law, Medical, Pedagogical and Theological schools were

¹Dr. Horace Mann Bond, God Glorified by Africa: the Story of Lincoln University and the Providence of God in the Ancestral Continent, (A Portion of the Centennial History of Lincoln University, 1854-1954); Lincoln University, Pa., February, 1955 - unpublished. p. 10.

planned. White students were encouraged to attend and two were graduated in the first baccalaureate class of 1868.

Dr. Isaac N. Rendall, Principal of Ashmun Institute, became Lincoln's first president in 1866. Neither his dedication to the cause nor his great ability proved sufficient to overcome the financial difficulties which beset the new university. Within ten years the Law, Medical and Pedagogical schools were reluctantly dropped. Lincoln University continued as a college of Liberal Arts and a Theological Seminary.

By 1873 the university was on the verge of bankruptcy when a saviour appeared in the person of the Reverend Edward H. Webb. Reverend Webb acted as a sort of ecclesiastical entrepreneur. He went on tour with the ten Liberian students, appealing to audiences everywhere to donate \$150 a year for the education and support of one deserving Liberian. By 1877 the financial crisis was over.

Today the university owns endowment funds of \$1,526,000. The buildings and grounds have a book value of \$2,825,000. Its total land area encompasses 350 acres but part of this land is farmed and part is woodlot. There are some 18 main buildings and 24 faculty residences. The Vail Memorial Library contains over 80,000 volumes and has a very fine African section. A stranger entering this isolated little world is immediately struck by three things - an atmosphere of peace, an aura of cleanliness and the warm glow of friendly co-operation.

Even statistics at Lincoln University seem a little more human than is usually the case with cold, hard facts. In the 94 year period

from September 1870, which marked the registration of the first African student, through the academic year 1963/4, Lincoln University has played host to 313 students from Africa. A table prepared by the university in April 1964 gives the distribution of these students by country or area of origin as follows:

West Africa	168
Liberia	40
South Africa	40
East Africa	49
French West Africa	6
South West Africa	6
Spanish Guinea	1
Angola	<u>3</u>
	313

These figures can be further divided into periods and this in itself tells an interesting tale. The first period (1870-1894/95) saw 28 Liberians and one native of the Gaboon enrolled. Dr. Horace Mann Bond states that between 1899 and 1949 there were no further students from "that great and growing Republic". The Lincoln statement shows that there were eight. In any case there was a great falling-off. It has been suggested that this was because of the conversion to Islam of Liberia's great national hero, Dr. E. W. Blyden just before the turn of the century.

In the second period (1896-1923/4) 23 South Africans and 3 Liberians took the opportunity to acquire a higher education. After 1923 South African representation ceased abruptly. One recalls the labour unrest in that unhappy country in 1922, culminating in a massive

strike which united Labour and Afrikaner Nationalists under J.B. Hertzog, in opposition to J.C. Smuts. It was in this era that the Rand mining companies proposed to modify the colour bar and to reduce the number of highly-paid and often inefficient white employees. Hertzog's Nationalist-Labour "Pact" government was in power after 1924. It requires no great stretch of the imagination to see a connection between events on the Rand and the dearth of South African students at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

The third period (1929-1959/60) saw a flood of students from British West Africa, led by Nnamdi Azikiwe - 134 British West Africans and 30 others, to be exact, including 18 from East Africa and 8 from Liberia. This, of course, is the period with which this paper is vitally concerned; for it was at this time that Nkrumah, Azikiwe and so many other West Africans absorbed learning and political philosophy at Lincoln University.

The tale is not yet told, however. In 1961 Lincoln entered yet another phase in its long association with Africa. The State Department sponsored, at Lincoln, the first institution of its kind in America: an African Centre to receive and prepare for college study, students from those portions of Africa still having territorial or colonial status.

Here again statistics regarding distribution of students according to country or area of origin are revealing:

Angola	24
Republic of South Africa	18
Mozambique	22
South West Africa	9
Northern Rhodesia	2
Southern Rhodesia	11
Kenya	1
Burundi	1
Basutoland	4
Tanganyika	<u>1</u>
	93

Also in 1963, a Peace Corps unit of fifty-seven men and women was assigned to Lincoln for an intensive course of study and physical training to prepare them for service as elementary school teachers in the rural areas of Liberia.

To the 313 African students who have attended the university since its inception, 107 Bachelor of Arts degrees, 22 Bachelor of Theology and 3 Masters of Arts degrees have been granted. When one considers that many Africans came to Lincoln University with the firm intention of attending only one year or two, these figures are impressive.

Furthermore, to quote the Lincoln University Bulletin, catalogue number 1962/63:

Since the turn of the century a growing number of Lincoln alumni have gone on into graduate study for the various professions - most notably medicine, dentistry, law, and education. To-day more than 50% of Lincoln's graduates continue their education at the graduate level.

Lincoln University offers instruction in the liberal arts to all who show promise of profiting by it. In reckoning that promise, race is, of course, irrelevant.

Attainment of more than the token integration which has long existed is a corollary of this purpose, and a prime goal.

The growing diversity of Lincoln students in color, national origin, and economic and cultural background makes the rather isolated campus a natural setting for intergroup relations, and the university hopes that a distinctive feature of a Lincoln education will be a greater sensitivity to human relations and a better understanding of group dynamics.

If Lincoln University is a special kind of University - as it is - then it stands to reason that the Lincoln professor must be a special kind of man. Considering how university professors often move about, it is astonishing how many have deliberately chosen to remain at Lincoln, sometimes for the duration of a lifetime. A few of the citations delivered by President Wachman at the Silver Anniversary Dinner, May 19, 1962 to those who had given distinguished service to Lincoln University for twenty-five years or more, will illustrate this point more clearly:

Laurence Foster, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department of Sociology has had a long and useful career before returning to his Alma Mater in 1937. As one of Lincoln's most distinguished African alumni told me, "it was from men like Laurence Foster that we learned the true meaning of freedom."

After a short career in the Middle West, this graduate of Princeton and of the University of Pennsylvania, Armstead O. Grubb, came to Lincoln in 1937 and has served faithfully as Professor of Romance Languages and as Acting President of Lincoln University for three years in a very difficult period when the college was in the midst of trying to define its future.

Manuel Rivero, Professor of Physical Education and Director of Athletics, has served Lincoln University for 28 years. . . .

Paul Kuehner, Professor of German and French and Registrar, has served Lincoln University for 32 years. He came from Germany and settled for a time in the Middle West. Then he went to Westmar College and finished his graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania. He has not only been a professor of Modern Languages and Registrar of the University, but he is also the Foreign Student Advisor at Lincoln University. He is a solid citizen, teacher and administrator.

William R. Cole, Professor of Physics, has served this institution for 39 years. He is also Secretary of the Board of Trustees, and watchdog of Wright Hall. . . .²

²The Lincoln University Bulletin, Volume 65, Commencement Issue, Summer 1962, Number 4, p. 26-27.

James W. Frankowsky, professor of mathematics since 1951, was granted a Christian R. and Mary F. Lindback Foundation award for distinguished teaching in 1962, as was Dr. Thomas M. Jones, a man of many talents. He began to teach History at Lincoln in 1946, was a member of the U.S. Olympic team in 1952, won second place in a national play-writing contest, is an excellent amateur actor, takes an enthusiastic part in directing student athletics, has served as director of the Foreign Student Program since 1962 and as Project Director of the Peace Corps Training unit and co-ordinator of the program on Russia and Communism.

Such service is recognized elsewhere than at Lincoln University. In 1963 Dr. Harold F. Grim was given an honorary degree by his alma mater, Lafayette College, which read in part.

Your career as educator - as classicist and biologist, as distinguished teacher and multi-faceted administrator, as trustee of things and mentor of men - is a model of the broad and useful life. In its half-century of all-encompassing commitment to Lincoln University, it is a marvel of dedication.³

There are many more distinguished scholars who have given Lincoln University devoted service, but space does not permit mention of them here. However mention must be made of an exceptional and lovable man, Dr. William Hallock Johnson. He graduated from Princeton in 1888, studied for a year in Germany, earned a doctor of philosophy degree from Columbia in 1893, and was graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1896. From 1903 to 1925 he was professor of Greek and New Testament Literature at

³Ibid.

Lincoln University and served as President of the University from 1925 until his retirement in 1936. In 1961, at the age of 95, he delivered a spontaneous talk about the importance of having dedicated faculty members before about 500 Lincoln alumni - without benefit of loud speaker. In 1962, at the inauguration of the ninth president of the University, he was called upon to say a few words. This he did without notes. He said in part:

Now I want to say a word about the future. I attended an inauguration similar to this one at my own Alma Mater when Woodrow Wilson took as his motto and slogan for his administration at Princeton, "Princeton in the nation's service". Now that motto is a noble one, but that motto is too small for our work here at Lincoln.

We want a broader horizon. We want a broader dimension of influence in the history of this country and of the world as we march together, Mr. President and Trustees, faculty, students and I was going to say fellow alumni, because you gave me a degree, and because I learned more in my life at Lincoln than any student who came under my instruction. So give me a humble place among the alumni of Lincoln.

Mr. President, the motto we want to put on our banner as we go unitedly forward is, "Lincoln in the Service of the World". I want you to do that.

For a' that, an' a' that,
It's coming yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that.⁴

At his last Board meeting in the spring of 1963, during a long discussion about how to raise the necessary funds, Dr. Johnson asked to be heard. To quote Dr. Wachman:

He rose and gave a short talk on the benefits of giving which accrued to the giver and ended with the statement, "Don't give until it hurts; give until it makes you happy". And with that, he jumped in the air and clicked his heels.⁵

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

When one president of the University wrote to complain about some trouble at that institution, Dr. Johnson advised him, "There are three stages in every work of faith: (1) Impossible, (2) Difficult, (3) Done."

African students are looking for just this sort of faith in the brotherhood of man, and reassurance that it will one day come to pass. That at least some of them have found such reassurance and have convinced others that this is so, is shown by two news items:

In their statement of purpose, the students who founded Pan Africa House (758 Oak Street, San Francisco, California), vowed that "like Lincoln University, it will remain as an everlasting monument . . . dedicated to the service of African students and sworn to the ultimate realization of Pan Africanism whereby all who are of African descent will unite and be friendly to the other peoples of the world".

Nine members of the Young Pioneers of Ghana, visiting this country under the sponsorship of the State Department and the National Social Welfare Assembly, arrived at Lincoln University on September 23 for a two-day study of student activities and classroom procedures, with the Student Government Association and the Y.M.C.A. Cabinet of Lincoln as hosts for the young men and women from Ghana.⁶

⁶Ibid. pps. 18 and 22.

CHAPTER II
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
GRADUATES NOW PROMINENT IN BRITISH
WEST AFRICA

12.

Before proceeding to a more detailed study of Lincoln's two most distinguished alumni, some space must be devoted to other Lincoln graduates whose work has contributed a great deal to British West Africa. It is interesting to note that, as the country of origin has changed from period to period, so also has the purpose of Africans in coming to Lincoln University, and the impact they have made upon their return.

In the first two periods, the so-called Liberian and South African periods, Africans were trained to do missionary and pastoral work in their native lands. The third period began in like fashion - both Nkrumah and Azikiwe studied theology - but more and more Africans began seeking careers as doctors, lawyers, educators, financiers, industrialists and, most particularly, as politicians. The record shows that they have been more than usually successful.

The following brief summary, kindly prepared by the Office of Public Relations at Lincoln University, will serve to give some indication of what British West African Alumni have been able to achieve.

FROM NIGERIA

THOMAS A. ACHONU. Born October, 1924, Nkwerre, Nigeria. A.B. 1953; M.S.W., Howard (Social Work), 1955. Deputy-Principal, Community Development Training Center, Enugu, Nigeria.

G. NWABUEZE AGBIM. Born 1924, Nimo, Nigeria. Attended Africa College, Onitsha, Nigeria. Entered Lincoln University October 25, 1950; A.B. 1954; M.A. Howard (Social Work) 1956. Student activities included: Secretary, African Student Association (1953-54); member of Y Cabinet

(1950-54); Recording Secretary, NAACP, Lincoln University branch, 1953; member, Social Science Club, Beta Sigma Tau, University Lodge #141 and Varsity Club. Ministry of Labour, Welfare Division, Lagos, Nigeria.

I.U. AKPABIO. Minister of education, the Government of Eastern Nigeria. The Secretariat, Enugu, Nigeria. (Now Minister of State in Eastern Nigeria).⁷

OKECHUKWU IKEJIANA. Born 1917. Lincoln University, February 1939-40; D. Soc. Sc., Lincoln University, 1955; M.D., University of Toronto, 1948. Director, National Clinic and National Clinic Pathological Laboratories, Ibadan, Nigeria. Member, British Medical Association. (Now Chairman of the Nigerian Railway Corporation.)

Kingsley Ozuomba Mbadiwe. Lincoln University, February 1939-40; M.A., New York University; LL.D., Lincoln University, 1956; Formerly Minister of Transportation and Communication, Eastern Region, Nigeria. At present, Minister of State for the Federation of Nigeria.

Abdul K. Disu. Lincoln University 1938-40. Chairman, Eastern Nigerian Information Service. (Now Secretary to the President).

Vincent Chukwunye Ikeotuonye. A.B. Lincoln University (cum laude). Formerly teacher, Priscella Memorial Grammar School, Oguta, Nigeria. Member of Nigerian Parliament House of Representatives.

J. CHINYERE ACHARA. A.B. Lincoln University (cum laude).

⁷The information enclosed in brackets is the latest data available on these Lincoln alumni, furnished by O.S.Coker, Press Attache for the Embassy of Nigeria, Washington D.C., in a letter to the author dated 25th August, 1964.

1952; A.M., Claremont (University of Southern California), 1954; Ph.D. Claremont, 1956. Government Teachers Training College, Uyo, Eastern Nigeria. Education Officer, Ministry of Education; Lecturer, University College, Ibadan.

KALU EZERA. A.B. Lincoln University, 1953 (cum laude; salutarian) A.M. Harvard University; Ph.D. Oxford (England). Lecturer, University College Ibadan. Publications include: Constitutional Developments in Nigeria (Cambridge University Press, 1960). From 1960 Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. (Member of the House of Representatives).

SAMUEL O. OKORIE. A.B. Lincoln University, 1958. Lecturer in Business administration at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Eastern Nigeria.

One cannot help noticing the preponderance of Eastern Nigeria in this context.

FROM GHANA

AKO ADJEI. Lincoln University, February 1939-40. Barrister. Founding member, United Gold Coast Convention Party, 1947. Elected to Legislative Assembly as member of the Interior, Ghana, 1957; Minister of Justice, 1957-1960. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Ghana, July 1, 1960 to August 1962.

On August 29, 1962, Dr. Adjei was arrested and charged with treason. He was tried and declared not guilty but rearrested and held

under the Preventive Detention Bill. On December 23, 1963, thirteen days after Adjei's trial, Parliament in special session passed the Law Criminal Procedure Act, by which Dr. Nkrumah can quash any decision of the Special Criminal Court in the interest of state security. On Christmas day Dr. Nkrumah used his new powers to declare the recent judgment of the Special Court on Adjei null and void.

KWATEI ASOASAH BREMPONG JONES-QUARTEY. Born 1913. A.B. Columbia University 1945. Editor in the department of Extramural Studies, University College of the Gold Coast, 1950-52; appointed Assistant Director of the department and elected fellow of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society, 1952; elected member of the Council of Convocation of the College, 1952; Director of Extra-Mural Studies, University College of Ghana, Achimota. Publications include: "Problems of the Press", (West African Affairs, pamphlet series), Bureau of Current Affairs, London, 1950. Co-author of "Proposals on Constitutional Reform", West African Graphic Company, Accra, 1952. Currently in the United States at the University of Chicago, writing a biography of President Nnamdi Azikiwe.

The Lincoln report does not mention T.O. Asare Jr. but a paragraph in the Lincoln University Bulletin indicates that Lincoln graduates are making their mark in the realm of finance also.

T.O. Asare Jr., an officer of the Ghana Commercial Bank since its inception, was appointed Chairman and Managing Director of what has become one of the largest, if not the leading bank in Ghana. His appointment became effective on September 13, 1960, following the retirement

of Sir Leslie McCarthy from that position.⁸

SIERRA LEONE

WILLIAM H. FITZJOHN. Born November 5, 1917. A. B. Lincoln University 1943 (valedictorian); B.D. Bonebrake Seminary, Dayton, Ohio, 1946; M.A. and D.Ed. degrees at Columbia University, the latter in 1949.

Appointed to head the work of evangelism in his home country in 1950, working with the Reverend Dr. Sylvester Renner and the late Reverend Solomon Brooks Caulker, a Lebanon Valley alumnus.

In 1957, made a three-month visit to the United States on a governmental assignment with the British Council in Washington D. C. Member of the House of Representatives in Sierra Leone (1951-57), former professor of Sociology and Religion at Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone. Member of Phi Beta Sigma and Phi Delta Kappa fraternities; also a Royal Arch Mason of England and a holder of the Queen's Coronation Medal; was president of the Alumni Association of Albert Academy, Freetown, Sierra Leone, 1954-59. Chargé d'affaires, Sierra Leone Office, Washington, D.C., 1959-61; named High Commissioner to the Court of St. James in London, England in 1961.

DAVID E. JOHNSON. A.B. Lincoln University, 1936 (magna cum laude). Secretariat, Health Department, Government of Sierra Leone, Freetown.

JOSEPH CHRISTIAN RENNER. Born September 5, 1927, Freetown,

⁸Lincoln University Bulletin, Commencement Issue Summer 1962, p. 39.

Sierra Leone; prep school, Prince of Wales, 1947; Diploma in Theology London University, 1957; A.B. Lincoln University, 1960; M.A. Howard (Sociology) 1962; Social Development Officer, c/o Social Welfare Department, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

FREDDIE B. SAVAGE. Born April 2, 1930; A.B. Lincoln University, 1960; M.A. Stanford (California), Political Science, August 1961. One of nine students who visited the South (of the U.S.) in the winter of 1961, on a trip sponsored by the Stanford Institute of Race Relations. The Institute is a student organization trying to promote international understanding. Appointed in 1961 to serve Sierra Leone's Foreign Service.

CHRISTIAN J. SEYMOUR-WILSON. Born November 17, 1917; A.B. Lincoln University, 1951; M.A. New York University (Biology); M.D. University of Geneva, Switzerland; Minister of Health, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

These are impressive accomplishments for a handful of Africans trained at an institution whose student body has rarely exceeded four hundred. If anyone should suspect that Lincoln authorities extend their charitable tendencies to such matters as marks and degrees, let him examine the post-graduate degrees of Lincoln men. Many of these have been won at institutions with high academic standards which would not have accepted students with faulty backgrounds.

Another interesting and very cheering fact is that American Negroes are serving Africa with devotion and distinction.

ROBERT LEE, Class of 1942, is practising dentistry in Ghana.

George E. Carter, Class of '49 is director of Peace Corps activities in Ghana. Calvin H. Raullerson was director of the American Society of African Culture in 1957 and in 1961 became a director of the Society in Lagos, Nigeria. Frank A. Decosta, Class of '31 is now in the Nigerian Ministry of Education. He assists in development and planning, including the training of a Nigerian staff in educational techniques and procedures, the systematizing and up-dating of educational statistics, advising in the interpretation and analysis of planning data, aiding in training personnel for research and maintaining liason with specialists in related educational projects.⁹

Dr. Hildrus A. Poindexter, an internationally famous authority in the field of bacteriology, serology and parasitology, and chief public health advisor for the Agency for International Development (AID), is now serving in that capacity in Sierra Leone, West Africa. A former professor at Howard University in Washington D.C., Dr. Poindexter joined the U.S. Public Service in 1947 after a tour of duty overseas with the Army. Since that time, he has served as public health representative in Saigon, South Vietnam, Parimaribo, Surinam, Baghdad and Iraq. He holds an M.D. degree from Harvard University, A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University, the M.S.P.H. from the University of Puerto Rico, and many honorary degrees from various colleges and universities throughout the country, including the Doctor

⁹Ibid. p. 49.

of Science degree conferred on him by his alma mater in 1946. As chief public health adviser, Dr. Poindexter is responsible for health measures affecting more than 600,000 Vietnamese who were evacuated after the partition agreement in Indo-China.¹⁰

One of Lincoln's most distinguished alumni is Dr. James H. Robinson, clergyman and author. In 1958, Dr. Robinson founded "Operation Crossroads Africa." This organization has grown from the sixty young people sent to serve Africa in the first year to 302, selected from 3,000 volunteers in 1962. At that time it had 50 requests from various countries in Africa for groups to serve there.

Speaking to the Crossroads group on June 22, 1962, President Kennedy said:

This group and this effort really were the progenitors of the Peace Corps and what this organization has been doing for a number of years led to the establishment of what I consider to be the most encouraging indication we have seen in recent years of the desire for service, not only in this country, but all around the world.¹¹

In 1963 three Lincoln men were selected to serve with Operation Crossroads Africa; William R. Scott, 1963, Marvin Holloway, 1964, and Noble L. Thompson, 1964. Each volunteer was obliged to raise \$900 as his share of the expense of the operation and as evidence of sincerity of purpose and initiative.

Mr. Scott said his purpose in joining the group was that "Such

¹⁰Ibid. p. 41.

¹¹Ibid. p. 28.

an experience would enable me to better understand my own people - here in the United States and in Africa."¹²

Mr. Thompson, who was assigned to the Nigerian Project said:

For the last two years, I have been working with the Lincoln University African Center Program, first as a tutor and now as a student counselor. By working with students from all over Africa, I have learned much about the African cultures - their problems, customs, and ambitions. By working in Africa this summer I hope to gain a richer understanding of the African way of life and perhaps contribute in some minute way to the fostering of closer Africa-American ties.¹³

Mr. Holloway added:

At Lincoln, I have had close associations with many foreign students and developed an interest in international relations, particularly Afro-American relations. In 1961 Dr. James H. Robinson, the founder of Operation Crossroads Africa came to Lincoln to outline his program. The Crossroads program impressed me as a program through which I could gain personal insight into the creative aspects of African life, and to serve as a reciprocal medium of contact between the African and the American people.¹⁴

It becomes obvious from the foregoing that Lincoln University is no longer merely an institution which trains Africa's sons to serve Africa. Lincoln University is now training American boys to serve Africa. Such an exchange of ideas and of service is almost bound to produce a more sympathetic mutual understanding of one another's problems. It would be unrealistic to claim that, because of Lincoln University, Afro-American relations will become ideal overnight - or in the foreseeable future, for

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

that matter - but it does seem reasonable to assume that the good-will engendered by this institution has been beneficial to such relations in some small degree and that, as the university expands, so will its impact upon West Africa.

In his inaugural address in 1962, President Marvin Wachman made it clear that he intends not only to preserve the ideals for which Linclon University has stood since April 29, 1854, he intends to expand them.

Lincoln University has opened its doors wide, through the decision of its board members of both races and of its thoughtful alumni. This was a deliberate and considered decision and it took a great deal of courage. It has caused, and will be bound to cause in the future, some ambivalence among members of the college community. Lincoln University has always had white students enrolled in its classes; but the numbers were token and only very recently has the college embarked upon substantial integration.

It is difficult for some to see how a college like Lincoln can be striving to assist its traditional beneficiaries when it is opening its doors to all. Even if the explanation is given that in expansion to an enrollment of about 1,000 there will be more opportunities for everyone within a more heterogeneous student body, all will not be satisfied. Yet that is exactly what Lincoln University is trying to do. It is attempting to more adequately and realistically serve the Negro community of Pennsylvania and the country, and at the same time to serve the community in general, the nation, and the world.

I am sure that there are some who feel that the college is attempting to go in two opposite directions. It is, if one approaches the development of the college with the preconceived notions of the past in regard to questions of class, status, and race. It would be, if the college were looking backward at some of the static elements in education and society, rather than looking forward to a new era.

But Linclon University does not begin with such preconceived notions. It recognizes the existence of problems in going forward in its announced direction. It takes its cue from the Sweatt vs. Painter case of 1950, and the Brown vs. Board of Education decision of 1954. Lincoln University agrees with Martin Luther King Jr., who gave the Commencement address

on this campus last June and who made the following statement in that address:

". . . It is not enough to struggle for the new society. We must make the psychological adjustment required to live in that new society. This is true of white people and it is true of Negro people. Psychological adjustment will save white people from going into the new age with old vestiges of prejudice and attitudes of white supremacy. It will save the Negro from seeking to substitute one tyranny for another.

I know sometimes we get discouraged and sometimes disappointed with the slow pace of things. At times we begin to talk about racial separation instead of racial integration, feeling that there is no other way out. My only answer is that the problem will never be solved by substituting one tyranny for another. Black supremacy is as dangerous as white supremacy, and God is not interested merely in the freedom of black men and brown men and yellow men. God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race and in the creation of a society where all men can live together as brothers, where every man will respect the dignity and the worth of human personality."

Yes, Lincoln University holds to these views. It is a special kind of college, with unique characteristics and aspirations, but at the same time, it represents a universalism in education and in social questions. It is pledged to seek the highest goals which any educational institution can achieve. I only hope that all of us who have the opportunity to teach and to hold posts in administration here will have the fortitude and the wisdom to guide this great small college along the path dictated by its tradition and the current needs of humanity.¹⁵

¹⁵Ibid. pps. 22 - 3.

CHAPTER III

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY AND NNAMDI AZIKIWE

To Dr. Paul Kuehner the surprising thing about Lincoln's two most famous graduates is not that they became great leaders but that they became the sort of men they have, in fact, become. Why, he wonders, has Azikiwe turned out to be benevolent and Nkrumah "otherwise"? He expected the reverse.

This view seems to be widely held at Lincoln. Indeed, it would appear that during his college days, Nkrumah was highly regarded by everyone. The only exception was the wife of the college president, who both disliked and distrusted him. Today, so far as one can gather, the Lincoln faculty is rather hurt and disappointed by Nkrumah's attitude towards his alma mater and the United States in general. On the other hand, they find it hard to accept "Zik" at his face value, a more admirable and amiable man.

Such an assessment would not occur to the independent researcher who deals only with personalities as revealed by letters and documents. These seem to indicate that both men have run true to form. He has not, of course, been subjected to the flashing smile and magnetism of the one, nor to the bitterness of the other. And, Dr. Kuehner says, Azikiwe was a bitter man when he left the United States.¹⁶

Azikiwe has not made public his reasons for choosing to go to America rather than to the United Kingdom, but one could hazard a guess.

¹⁶Interview with Dr. Paul Kuehner, Registrar, Lincoln University, Pa., April 1, 1964.

His father resigned from the Nigerian Regiment because of an insult from a young British officer. His father's army career and his own attendance at mission schools in Onitsha, Calabar and Lagos caused young Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe to be completely detribalized. From 1921-25 he worked as a government clerk in the Nigerian Treasury in Lagos. During his last two years there, Lagos was a hot-bed of discontent and anti-British feeling.¹⁷ Little wonder then, that he chose to go to America. He was not, as has so often been said, the first West African to be educated there. That honour belongs to J.E.K. Aggrey, whose experience and renown may have encouraged Azikiwe to take the same step.

At any rate, Azikiwe left for Storer College in West Virginia in 1925. There now occurs a curious discrepancy. In the Preface to "Zik" Azikiwe relates:

Here I enrolled in Storer College, but soon transferred to Lincoln University and subsequently to Howard University in Washington D.C. After securing my degree I lectured in political science at Lincoln University and while there obtained post-graduate degrees at Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania. I returned to Nigeria at the end of 1934,...¹⁸

Coleman has accepted Azikiwe's time sequence¹⁹ but Segal²⁰ and David Williams²¹ state that he went to Storer, Howard and then to Lincoln.

¹⁷James S. Coleman, Nigeria, Background to Nationalism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958) p.221.

¹⁸Nnamdi Azikiwe, Zik, A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: The University Press, 1961) p. VII.

¹⁹Coleman, p.220-21.

²⁰Ronald Segal, African Profiles (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1963) p.231.

²¹Peter Judd, editor, African Independence (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1963) p.186-87

That Segal and Williams are right seems to be confirmed by the dates of two opening speeches in "Zik". The first was given at Storer in 1927, the second at Howard in 1928.

Moreover, Lincoln Alumni records indicate that he received his A.B. (cum laude) at Lincoln in 1930 and his A.M. in 1931. He studied at the Theological Seminary in 1931-32, lectured at Lincoln from 1931 to 1934. This data is further substantiated by the list of his publications. His master's thesis "A Critique of Polygyny" is dated from Lincoln in 1931. "Anthropology and the Problem of Race" is dated from Lincoln in 1933. "Syllabus for African History", Lincoln, 1933 and "Mythology in Onitsha Society", a master's thesis, at the University of Pennsylvania, 1933.

Once cannot imagine Dr. Nkrumah being inaccurate about the details of his life. Indeed, one wonders if Azikiwe is not being deliberately casual about himself as a subtle hint that his rival is too egocentric. On the other hand, he may quite honestly have forgotten. Azikiwe has led a busy life. His interests are wide-ranging. Such a man can have little time to concentrate purely on self. He has never written an autobiography but did agree to give a biographical sketch as a preface to "Zik". It occupies little more than a page. There is one photograph, unlike the thirty-eight contained in Nkrumah's autobiography.

To return to the youthful Azikiwe: it would be difficult to exaggerate the impact that America must have had on an inexperienced young man from Africa. Nkrumah has described very graphically the impact it had on him ten years later - and he had had warning and advice from both Aggrey and Azikiwe. The latter may well have felt that he would find

sympathy and understanding amongst Americans, who had themselves once been subjected to British colonial rule. If this were so, he was rapidly disillusioned. Both Storer and Howard are in the South. Indeed, it is only very recently that Negroes have been granted equal access to public facilities in Oxford, Pennsylvania.

Discrimination in Lagos was one thing; it could be equated with the contempt of the conqueror for the conquered and thus had political overtones. Discrimination in the United States was clearly racial and most deeply felt in its social aspects. Moreover, in Lagos one could tolerate the snobbery of a few British administrators for one was at home, amongst one's own people. The remedy for inequality seemed clear and it seemed possible of achievement: independence. An African in America is very much alone. In Azikiwe's day the white Americans belonged to a world which he could not enter unless he changed the colour of his skin. It soon became evident that political and civil rights were no guarantee of true equality.

The really bitter pill, however, was the fact that there was no meeting of the minds even between himself and the American Negro, his blood brother. The white man he could understand; the American Negro he could not. This is as true today as it was in 1925.

It so happened that Azikiwe came to America at a particularly bad time. During his first four years a sort of mass hysteria affected the American Negro. Garveyism and a militant Negro press preached black nationalism..Communism, aided in its propaganda by lynchings, race riots and mass demonstrations, worked busily to foment hatred and discontent. Completely on his own, unaided by generous relatives as was

Nkrumah, Azikiwe knew only too well the social and economic penalties a man must pay for having a black skin. In 1929 the dark depression days began. We tend to forget nowadays the atmosphere of disillusion and despair that existed in the thirties. It is little wonder that Azikiwe returned to Africa a bitter man.

Quite apart from the opinion of Lincoln professors, there is written evidence that this was so:

No . . . Wine and women . . . song and music . . . pranks and comedies . . . These sometimes seem to have been the objective of the bulk of black America, and of the black West Indies, and of the African literati. They know not a civilization of their own, only life in an alien environment. They know not what social progress entails, save that progress symbolized by life at Oxford or Harvard or the Sorbonne . . . Slaves of a doomed civilization . . . (he quotes Spengler's Decline of the West earlier). How then can they go to Liberia in order to reforge a government worthy of the respect of the world?²²

This excerpt is taken from Liberia in World Politics, dated June 30, 1934 from 10 Houston Hall, Lincoln University.

In addition to despising Americans of his own race, he calls into question the honesty and the motives of white Americans. The United States, he believes, was willing to accommodate slaves but free Negroes were no longer useful and were therefore unwelcome. He is firmly convinced that Liberia was founded to get rid of these poor undesirables.

Abraham Lincoln was no hero to Azikiwe, nor was Thomas Jefferson:

Africa was suggested as a place for the repatriation of these American nationals of African descent. Due to misdirected altruism, as was forcefully pointed out by anti-

22 22Nnamdi Azikiwe, Liberia in World Politics (London: Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 1934), p.397.

slavery leaders, together with the curious phenomenology of slavish psychology, it was evident that the Aframerican majority did not appreciate this unique opportunity, nor did they cherish the idea of going back into the jungles in order to assume the onerous duty of statecraft and statesmanship. They ridiculed the idea and rightfully claimed equal opportunity as American citizens. Unfortunately, they overlooked the warning of President Thomas Jefferson: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them."

In the opening speech of his fourth joint debate with Stephen A. Douglas, President Abraham Lincoln made public his political philosophy with reference to the future of the two races under the American Government. Like his predecessors, he went into the root of things. On September 18, 1858, he made the following astounding and significant statements at Charleston, Illinois: "I will say then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favour of bringing in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favour of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favour of having the superior position assigned to the white raceI will add to this that I have never seen, to my knowledge, a man, woman, or child who was in favour of producing a perfect equality, social and political, between Negroes and white men."²³

The sentences that a man chooses from another man's work are as indicative of his own thinking as if he had written them himself.

He was fiercely resentful of any criticism of Liberia, since that country alone had preserved "democracy" in Africa:

Liberia is the nucleus of a black hegemony. In that Republic lies the hope of an African civilization which should emphasize spiritual values, and should apply the African ideal of hospitality, of friendliness, of honesty, of truth, of justice, and of the brotherhood of man.²⁴

²³Ibid. pps. 40-41.

²⁴Ibid. p. 396.

He was, in short, a cynic and an idealist at the same time, as young men so often are.

In 1934 Azikiwe left Lincoln University for London, where he arranged to have his book published. The Empire Games were about to take place and Azikiwe decided he ought to take part as a representative of Nigeria. He turned out to train. During the training period he was insulted by a white South African and, in protest, dropped his Christian name (Benjamin). He has never used it since. To make matters worse, the governing body of the Games ruled that, as Nigeria had no official team, Azikiwe could not enter. Nothing daunted, he offered to be the whole Nigerian team but the sporting world has its own brand of red tape and his offer was refused.

Azikiwe found Britain less friendly than America and soon left for home. He was not so much a Nigerian nationalist in this period as he was an African with a mission to work for the world-wide emancipation of his race. He settled in Accra, on the Gold Coast, where he was for three years editor of the African Morning Post. This newspaper demonstrated clearly that Azikiwe had taken to heart all the lessons to be learned from the American yellow press and from the militantly race-conscious American newspapers. He launched into tirades against racial inequality and historic wrongs in language never before used in West Africa. Heretofore African spokesmen like Blyden and Aggrey had protested in a moderate, scholarly tone. Zik, however, well knew the power of the press and used it to advocate "positive action" - a phrase made a good deal more famous by Nkrumah some years later.

His world crusade soon assumed more manageable proportions - first Africa and then West Africa. In 1937 Azikiwe returned to Lagos where he

founded a chain of Newspapers, of which the West African Pilot is the most famous. He saw no reason why his crusade should not yield dividends in cash as well as in political propaganda and he made them pay.

Upon his return he also joined the executive of the Nigerian Youth Movement. Azikiwe is an Ibo and the Ibo are a tribe which puts tremendous stress on education. According to Coleman, in 1921 educated Yorubas and "native foreigners" held an overwhelming majority (78%) of the positions that required knowledge of the English language - yet they were only 47% of the educated group and less than 16% of the population of townships. No Ibo or Ibibio had entered professional ranks although they represented 19% of the population of townships and 36% of those who had received Western education.²⁵

Simon Ottenberg has written an interesting paper on "Ibo Receptivity to Change" which is relevant in this context:

Ibo culture can thus be characterized by its emphasis on individual achievement and initiative, alternative prestige goals and paths of action, a tendency towards equalitarian leadership, considerable incorporation of other peoples and cultures, a great deal of settlement and resettlement of individuals and small groups, and considerable cultural variation. Some of these attributes are characteristic of what have been designated "loosely structured" or "flexible" societies. However, the Ibo differ from such societies in that they have clearly defined, well-organized and effective social groupings, particularly unilineal organizations but also age grades, village societies, and other associations. The "flexibility" in Ibo culture does not lie in any structural weakness in these groupings but in individuals' ability to work through and across them to achieve desired goals and in their freedom to select alternative activities. Furthermore, these groups support the individual in his activities, and his achievement in turn brings prestige to them. An individual who takes a series of titles is supported by his family and unilineal groupings. The rising young political leader receives support from these groups, from other kinship groups, and from age grades and other associations.

The major factors underlying Ibo receptivity to change are clear. The high population density has affected physical

²⁵Coleman, p. 143.

mobility and adjustment to new conditions. Ibo culture is itself a changing one, and it is particularly adapted to certain aspects of European culture. The Ibo have had constant contact with Europe, first indirectly and then directly, for over three hundred years, and it would probably be an error to consider that their culture was relatively static before the period of direct British contact. The early European contacts were relatively friendly and co-operative despite the horrors and tragedies suffered by individuals who died or were carried away in the slave trade. The British conquest caused little internal disorganization, for, with the exception of the destruction of the dominant position of small groups of Ibo traders (an action which many Ibo welcomed) and some changes in religious and political matters, they did not initially destroy Ibo culture or its indigenous system of leadership. On the other hand, this leadership deteriorated to a considerable extent because of the British failure to crystallize it within the colonial administration, leaving the way open for new types of leaders to arise.²⁶

Azikiwe was the first Ibo to achieve a professional status. The foregoing excerpt may perhaps explain a little of the man himself. It undoubtedly explains why he automatically became the spokesman for one of the most powerful tribes in Nigeria, and, in fact, for all non-Yorubas and even for those Yorubas who felt that present policies and leadership were moving too slowly. Azikiwe had observed in America the technique of mass management and of utilizing both discontented elements and existing organizations. He used most of the tricks of that trade. When, in 1941, he quarreled with the N.Y.M., he took the best part of their membership with him.

In 1938 Azikiwe wrote:

The West African Colonies have a common foe ... So long as we think in terms of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and not as one United West Africa we must be content with a colonial dictatorship instead of a government of the people, by the people, for the people - namely, democracy.²⁷

²⁶William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits, Editors, Continuity and Change in African Cultures (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), pps. 141-143. (Simon Ottenberg, "Ibo Receptivity to Change".)

²⁷Coleman, p. 222.

However, the youthful idealist faded as the pragmatic politician began to learn the "art of the possible". His newspapers spread the nationalist gospel throughout Nigeria, making his name a household word as far north as Kano and thus enhancing his claim to be the only genuinely "Nigerian" leader. His powerful oratory was used with magnificent effect. He made plans to form a truly national political party, using a study group as a nucleus. A trip to Britain in 1943 to protest restrictions imposed upon Nigerian students there and to submit, along with seven other journalists, a memorandum asking that the principles of the Atlantic Charter be applied to West Africa were, of course, well publicized. All these activities added to Azikiwe's growing charisma.

It is interesting to note that at this time Nigerian nationalists asked for ten years of representative government followed by five years of responsible government before independence, as well as immediate Africanization of the civil service. This is substantially what they got, despite the more radical demands which impatience soon dictated.

With Azikiwe's active encouragement, a group of young intellectuals formed the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. Azikiwe was elected Secretary-General. As early as 1943, in his "Political Blueprint for Nigeria", Azikiwe had given up all thought of a tight unity for Nigeria, much less for West Africa. He advocated a federation of eight states and kept to this proposal as part of the new party's platform.

No voice was heard more loudly nor with such telling effect as was Zik's powerful press when he poured out scorn and abuse upon the hated Richards Constitution. Again, in 1945, his support of a successful strike increased his prestige still further. When two of

his papers were banned for misrepresentation of facts, Nigerians were convinced it was an imperialist plot to silence their champion. With superb showmanship and timing, Azikiwe claimed that his life was in danger and went into hiding. His gesture was effective and he became a national hero. "Zik Newspapers" circulation boomed. In 1946 a Zikist movement was formed by a young and radical group to protect their leader, who by this time had assumed the proportions of a minor deity. The British knew not what to do with this stormy petrel.

That same year the N.C.N.C. organized a Nigeria-wide campaign for funds to send a delegation to London. For the first time many rural Nigerians became aware that they belonged not just to a tribe but to a nation. The campaign was successful but the protest was not. This failure served only to enhance Azikiwe's prestige amongst the masses, despite some awkward questions by the more sophisticated of them as to the disposition of the 13,000 pound fund.

Sir John Macpherson, in consultation with representatives from all parts of Nigeria, evolved a new constitution in 1950. In September 1951, the N.C.N.C. and Azikiwe suddenly switched from a federalist viewpoint to a unitarian position once more. Under the new constitution residual powers were given to the Regions and Lagos came under the Western Region. Azikiwe, in a minority report, objected to both. If Nigeria must be divided, let it be divided into ten main ethnic and/or language groups and not into three completely artificial and arbitrary regions. Enemies claimed that Azikiwe was stirring up tribalist rivalry in his quest for personal power. Lagos was the focal point both of Azikiwe's political power and of his business enterprises. His enemies also taunted him with being afraid that, as member for Lagos, he would never reach

the Federal House from a Yoruba-dominated Western House of Assembly. This, of course, is what happened, as Azikiwe must have known it would when he agreed to participate in elections under the new constitution.

Azikiwe, though leader of the N.C.N.C. group in power at the federal level, was forced to remain Leader of the Opposition in a substantially Yoruba Western House. But he did not remain silent. If his political opponents were amused at Azikiwe's dilemma, their amusement did not last long; for such was Zik's hold on the party that he caused a split and precipitated an election in the Eastern Region. He thereupon saw the wisdom of securing that British necessity - a safe seat for the party leader. Elected to the Eastern House, he replaced Eyo Ita as Premier.

The change in Azikiwe upon which Lincoln University staff members remarked seems to have begun around 1948, although progress was slow and far from steady. In 1947, The London Daily Mirror commented:

Six feet of charm, of eloquence, of dignity, of ability.
Six feet of stupidity, of folly, of hate-blended prejudice
. . . A man who could have done much for his country, who
could have been a real leader, he has degenerated into a
will-o'-the-wisp, a figure of straw blown all ways by his
own passions. . . Zik could have helped in the wonderful
future of his country.²⁸

By 1948 Azikiwe seems to have begun to re-examine his policies. When the Zikist movement first began towards the end of 1945, Azikiwe gave it at least tacit support and a good deal of publicity. Doubtless he was well aware that party bosses in America had found such organizations useful. Moreover the success of the militant C.P.P. in the Gold Coast was an object lesson still closer to home. Yet Azikiwe hesitated.

²⁸Lincoln University - Alumni File.

He alternately cautioned and commended them. The Radicals continued to exist as an organized body but without continuous support they could achieve very little.

There is yet another explanation for Azikiwe's "benevolence" and this is the one which he himself has stressed. When he went to London to attend various conferences in 1949, he became acquainted with Dr. Frank Buckman and "Moral Re-Armament". Speaking at Caux-sur-Montreux, Switzerland on November 14, 1949, he said:

....I am sure that with the guidance of God it will be a new life for me and a new life for a great number of people with whom it will be my good fortune to come into contact. . . .

By coming here I have also learned that it is not so much whether the Nigerians are right or the British wrong, but the question is: What is right for Nigeria? . . . It is our prayer that through God's guidance, the people of Nigeria shall be redeemed from the serfdom of fear, hatred, and suspicion, and that the truths of absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love shall flare out anew, and presage the dawn, not only of a new Nigeria, but of a new world in the making.²⁹

In 1952 he spoke to a group of Nigerian students at Buckman's home in London:

I am interested in politics. But I have made it clear for a long time now that I have no political ambitions, nor desire to be a politician. My supreme desire is to be a statesman, and to do something constructive in laying the foundation of a new society in my country.³⁰

Men find it difficult to accept a conversion such as this at its face value; nor has the Moral Rearmament movement enjoyed so high a reputation as its avowed aims would lead one to expect. This does not,

²⁹Azikiwe, Zik, pps. 254-255.

³⁰Ibid. p. 256.

however, exclude the possibility that Azikiwe took this moral crusade at its own word and applied such principles to his daily life. Africans have a facility for picking and choosing those concepts which seem to them applicable to their own situation.

Whatever the reason, in 1948 Azikiwe abandoned his boycott of the Legislative Council. Perhaps he decided he would be more useful in that body than outside it. Or it might be that the replacement of Governor Richards by Sir John Macpherson influenced his decision. Certainly the whole frigid atmosphere changed to one of co-operation and consultation at this time. For the next three years educated Nigerians devoted their time and energies to formulating constitutional recommendations. Leaders of all three regions had to learn to work together, to realize that the ideal solution for problems in one region was sometimes anathema to another. After his return from the London Conference of 1953, Azikiwe reported to a public meeting:

How can any responsible Nigerian, who loves Nigeria and believes in Nigerian unity and freedom, accuse us of compromising principles and working without plan simply because we preferred to co-operate with the North and the West, and then expect us or the outside world to take him seriously? . . .

I am proud to have been a member of a delegation where, unlike my experience of six years ago, team spirit was the rule and the issue was not who was right but what was right for Nigeria We have no cause to regret our visit to London, and we are not apologetic when we admit that we were impressed by the impartiality of the Secretary of State, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton.³¹

In 1956 Azikiwe's financial dealings were the subject of a Tribunal and the object of censure. He denied that he had done anything irregular but agreed to transfer his rights and interests in the African

³¹Ibid. pps. 124-125. Note use of Moral Rearmament phrase "not who is right" - etc.

Continental Bank to the Eastern Regional Government. The ensuing election returned him with a large majority.

Although he believes in democracy and party government, Azikiwe has tolerated no dissidents within the party, and none was ever able to get the better of him. It is widely believed that Zik's great ambition was to be the first federal prime minister. He managed to achieve an N.C.N.C. - N.P.C. coalition but had to content himself with being President of the Senate. Shortly afterwards he became the first Governor-General of Nigeria and, on October 1, 1963, the first President of the Republic of Nigeria. These are honourable positions but hardly such as one would expect to satisfy a man whom his critics have described as "power hungry".

The answer may lie in the multiplicity of his interests. He is Governing Director of the African Continental Bank Ltd., founder and president of Zik Newspapers, chairman of the Associated Newspapers of Nigeria, Ltd., and has interests in many other financial concerns as well. He is reputed to be a millionaire. Sports are not so much a hobby as a passion with him. Farming arouses the same enthusiastic interest. He may be a disappointed politician but he has scarcely had time to be a frustrated one. A simple explanation for Azikiwe's new benevolence may be the true one: so many Angry Young Men become conservative middle-aged men. Furthermore, in the best American tradition Azikiwe is a self-made man. Such men are seldom bitter about the past. They are more inclined to magnify the hardships they have endured as obstacles which they have successfully overcome.

What part has Lincoln University played in moulding the

character of this complex man? In his own words, from an address delivered at Lincoln on June 6, 1954:

Fellow alumni, I am very proud to be a Lincoln man because I know what Lincoln has done for me. This great institution gave me an opportunity to develop my personality in an environment which tested my character almost to the limit of human endurance. Claude McKay said that although the United States fed him with bread of bitterness and sank into his flesh its tiger's tooth, yet he loved this "cultured hell". Many times I have often felt that way too, because I have faith in this country as a bastion of the democratic way of life, although I must warn that times are changing and we must evaluate the present not only in terms of the past, but we must bear in mind what the future holds in store for humanity at large.

Lincoln University has equipped me for the great task ahead by making me to appreciate that although the continent of Africa is rather late in the race for progress and advancement in the world, yet handicaps were made to be overcome and barriers to be hurdled. I am, therefore, ready for this glorious task. I have faith in humanity. I have the vision and the imagination to appreciate the need to dedicate myself selflessly to this romance of nation-building in Africa.

...without shedding one drop of blood, without violence, without bitterness, . . . we have gained a grand and glorious victory. Today, the Lion and the palm tree have cultivated mutual respect because they understand each other and they have decided to co-operate to mutual advantage. That is sensible, isn't it?

May I, at this stage, acknowledge my indebtedness to a great American whose philosophy was a tower of strength to me either at a time of defeat or in a moment of triumph. Pinckney Hill often recalled to me the principle of the irresistible might of meekness. I knew him when I studied at Lincoln. He was then at Cheyney. His thoughts have made me to ponder deeply before attempting to plunge my people into a bloody revolution. At last I decided that if I mobilized Nigerians spiritually, we could defeat those who sought to perpetuate our bondage. History has proved me right.³²

Lincoln University staff members can hardly believe that the genial "Zik" and the bitter, rebellious young man who left them in

³²Lincoln University - Alumni File.

1934 are one and the same person. He expressed no gratitude then, nor did he seem to be fond of the university when he was a student and instructor there. One might suspect that his new-found interest in his alma mater, and in America generally, was simply a formal show of devotion in order to reap the benefits which American goodwill might endow upon an under-developed country such as Nigeria. However, other countries have derived more benefit with less effort and with much less goodwill than Azikiwe has shown.

In 1947 Azikiwe went back to America. He may have accepted scholarships and other financial help but he has more than repaid what he accepted. He gave one thousand dollar gifts to Storer College, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia and to Lincoln University on that trip. He did the same thing in 1953. It is interesting to note his spirit of compromise on these occasions. He wears Yoruba robe, Hausa cap and - brogues.

There is an amusing bit of correspondence amongst faculty members at Lincoln with regard to a proposed visit by Azikiwe in 1950. Dr. Horace Mann Bond wanted to put on an African-style reception to honour their distinguished alumnus. Staff members were notably lacking in enthusiasm. Presumably a letter from Joseph Snyder of Public Relations settled the issue. He reported: "I doubt if the students would line the Avenue of Maples for Truman. Or Jesus, for that matter".³³ An American reception seems to have suited Azikiwe very well for he has revisited Lincoln University several times since 1947 and has usually addressed the Alumni Association on these occasions.

³³Ibid.

Like most leaders of newly emergent nations, Azikiwe has gone to America looking for help. He has not always received it and has accepted his disappointment with good grace. On one occasion he approached several United States foundations for funds to assist in building the University of Nigeria in the Eastern Region. He was rebuffed. On his way home, he happened to notice the Lever Brothers sky-scraper in New York City and reflected that he too could use palm oil products to finance the buildings for his university. It was built in two years and, as of January 1962, boasted 900 students and 116 teachers, 47% of whom had doctorate degrees. The University is patterned after United States Land Grant Colleges. He asked for and received advice and guidance from American educators. Michigan State University was particularly helpful.

It seems clear that Azikiwe is not keeping in touch with Lincoln University from any expectation of future benefits. He seems genuinely fond of the place. In 1960 he wrote to the editor of the Lincoln University Bulletin giving a change of address. In fact, as Governor-General he had moved into an official residence. A year later he wrote rather testily that he had advised the Lincoln University staff of a change of address but his copy of the Bulletin was still being sent to the old address.

On the occasion of his being invested as Governor-General of Nigeria, he invited some twenty-eight Lincoln alumni and staff members to Lagos to celebrate Nigeria's newly won independence with him. Furthermore all expenses were paid, whether by Azikiwe himself or by the Nigerian Government remains obscure. Accommodations were excellent; entertainment was lavish. Each Lincolnian had a new model car at his disposal so that he might see the sights of Nigeria at his own conven-

ience. Donald C. Yelton, acting President of Lincoln University, was one of the guests. In his report of the festivities he said:

In the course of his address Dr. Azikiwe recalled his political struggles in behalf of independence and called upon his old party associates and antagonists to forget "our internecine altercations" and join with him in the task of binding up the nation's wounds - a Lincolnian echo which served to recall to his hearer's minds that Nigeria's political tradition, if British in form and substance, contains an important infusion of American ideals directly assimilated on the campuses of several American universities. 34

Azikiwe not only wants to make sure that he receives his Lincoln publications, he obviously reads them from cover to cover. The following letter, dated August 5, 1963, is proof positive that his present exalted position has not caused him to forget his humble past:

I am writing to you in connection with what I saw in the Founder's Day issue (Spring 1963) of the Lincoln University Herald. I observed that you required information about the whereabouts of Samuel O. Okorie of the class of 1958.

Mr. Okorie is lecturer in Business Administration at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Eastern Nigeria. After leaving Lincoln University, he went to Atlanta University where he obtained an M.A. degree.

I think you already know that the University of Nigeria was founded by me when I was premier of Eastern Nigeria. It was opened by Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra of Kent on 7th October, 1960, during our Independence celebrations. At present it has a student body of 1,200 with 175 members of the Faculty. There are four Faculties in the University namely Arts, Science, Social Studies and Technology.

Last June we had the thrill of graduating our first batch of 150 students. The degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science were conferred on them by me as Chancellor of the University.

The head of the administration of the University is called Vice-Chancellor, in the person of Dr. George M. Johnson, who was formerly Dean of the College of Law at Howard University

in Washington, D.C. He was loaned to us by Michigan State University which, in co-operation with the American Government, co-operate with us in running the University.

I got the money for establishing the University by saving profits which my government at the time realized in exporting palm oil kernels which the Unilever combine use in manufacturing soaps, toothpastes, detergents, etc.

At the end of last year, we had spent 3 million pounds, that is \$8.4 million, on the plant, buildings and recurrent expenses of the university. Believe me, Dr. Farrell, you must see what we have built at Nsukka in order to believe me. During the last Commencement exercises of the University, I told the Congregation that the history of the University could be summed up as follows: "We created something from nothing."

On the occasion of our first graduation ceremony, it was with joy that I read to the Congregation the message of goodwill sent to our University by Dr. Marvin Wachman, President of Lincoln University.

Hi "State", would you still say that the class of 1931 is better than the class of 1930, when every son of Pi Gamma Psi says: "We are the B-E-S-T of all the R-E-S-T!"

With personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Nnamdi Azikiwe.³⁵

³⁵Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY AND KWAME NKRUMAH

The first documented evidence of correspondence between Francis Nwia Kofi Nkrumah and Lincoln University is dated August 12, 1932 from St. Teresa's Seminary, Amisano via Elmina. This date is open to question since, according to his autobiography, he would not have been at Amisano but at Axim in 1932. The document is hand-written and the 2 in August 12 is different from the 2 in what appears to be 1932. The author is persuaded that Nkrumah did not mean 1932 at all, but 1935. Internal evidence seems to support this conclusion. The following letter from Amisano, dated March 1, (no year given),³⁶ appears to be the earliest letter (apart from the Lincoln University application form) still on file there.

Rev. G. Johnson
Dean of the College.

Dear Sir:

Over half a year ago I wrote to you disclosing my intention of coming to the United States to continue my education at Lincoln University. You accordingly sent to me the Lincoln University Herald and an Application form.

Since then, I have been making serious arrangements towards my coming to the university; and I now feel that I am fully

³⁶ Bankole Timothy, Kwame Nkrumah, His Rise to Power (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1955) On p. 23, Timothy gives the date of this letter as March 1, 1935.

prepared to sail to your end if only a say of hope will come from you.

I herewith enclose the Application form filled with the hope that you will do all that in your power lies toward my admission.

I remain
Yours very Sincerely
F. Nyakofi Nkrumah³⁷

The letter dated 12th August, 1932 is quite obviously written in 1935:

Sir:

Because I have been too busy making arrangement to proceed to the States I have not been able to reply to your letter of the 22nd April which granted me admission to your university.

It has so happened that the question of travelling to the States has been a difficult one due to certain conditions one has to fulfill with the Government and the immigration authorities.

At all event, I have succeeded in bringing arrangement to a desired end, and I am leaving the Gold Coast on the 26th of August in the hope of getting to the University by September 17th. As there is no American Consul in the Gold Coast at present, I am proceeding to Liverpool first to see the American Consul to visé my passport. In those circumstances I trust you will understand me if I reach the University after the 17th September.

Please make further arrangement towards my admission. I shall defray any expenses incurred when I arrive.

I take the opportunity to thank you very sincerely for all you have done and will do on my behalf.

With kindest regards
Yours very Sincerely
F.N.K.Nkrumah
- S - 38

³⁷Lincoln University Letter File.

³⁸Ibid.

According to his autobiography, it was during his two years at Axim that Kwame Nkrumah became determined to carry out his plan to go to America to study. This resolution was first made under the influence of Dr. Kwegir Aggrey, Assistant Vice-Principal of the Prince of Wales College at Achimota, who had himself been educated at Livingston College in America. Further encouragement was given to the aspiring young student by S. R. Wood, Secretary of the National Congress of British West Africa. To this day Nkrumah possesses a testimonial which Wood wrote to help him gain admission to Lincoln University.

For, as he says, "a whole year" religious fervour caused Nkrumah to turn instead to the notion of a priestly vocation in the Jesuit order. The old ambitious restlessness soon returned, however, along with a revived nationalism, the latter a result of articles in the African Morning Post by a recent Lincoln graduate, Nnamdi Azikiwe. On a visit to Accra in 1934, Nkrumah met Azikiwe and heard him lecture. Upon his return to Amisano he wrote the letter of March 1 quoted above. On April 22, 1935 Lincoln University sent him a form letter - "to whom it may concern" - granting admission. Another letter of the same date is more explicit:

We can grant you scholarship help but you would require at least \$250 a year tuition and board fees at Lincoln University and you would also have to have an additional sum for incidental expenses such as clothing, travel, etc., since our fees cover merely the tuition and board (food, room rent and so on). I enclose a circular gotten out by the Phelps-Stokes Fund which contains useful information for students from Africa. If you decide that your financial ability is sufficient to defray your expenses, you should make arrangements to come to Lincoln University so as to reach here by September 17th. If you will get in touch with Mr. Azikiwe, Editor of the Morning Post, he can give you complete information. The enclosed certificate may be presented to the immigration authorities.³⁹

This immigration certificate was issued from District #3, No. 98524/38 Ellis Island, New York Harbour, October 31, 1935, listing Francis Nwia Kofi Nkrumah as a British subject.⁴⁰

Most of Nkrumah's correspondence with Lincoln University took place during the holiday period when he was away trying to earn money. These letters are largely requests to have a transcript of his marks sent on to him, apologies for not having returned a borrowed book, requests for other books or book lists, and expressions of worry and regret that he had not so far been able to pay the money he owed. The staff at Lincoln was very good about complying with all these needs and desires and quite indefatigable in suggesting ways and means by which he might supplement his slender income. Such concern is understandable in view of the fact that Nkrumah never did manage to pay his debts.

On December 16, 1936, for instance, R. F. Turrell advised him that he had been selected by the Committee on Scholarship Awards for the opportunity of qualifying for the Robinson Scholarship by the recitation of the shorter catechism. He was to reply by January 30, 1937 if he was unable or unwilling to compete; and he was to compete with seven others.⁴¹

On April 7, 1939 Kwame Nkrumah received a stern reminder from H. H. Grim, the Treasurer of Lincoln University:

⁴⁰Lincoln University Letter File.

⁴¹Ibid.

Dear Mr. Nkrumah,

We have carried your account to such an extent that we must have payment promptly. Accumulation of bills payable make it necessary that each student fully co-operate in meeting of the obligations. Should you fail to meet the need promptly it may be necessary for us to limit our student body.⁴²

Nkrumah graduated in 1939 with a Bachelor of Arts degree but this could not be granted until he paid the money which he still owed to the University. He had intended going to the Columbia University School of Journalism but this was obviously not possible. Nkrumah had been a good student. According to a letter from Ruth Cotton of Lincoln in reply to one from Dr. Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in the second term of the academic year 1939-40, he had taken ten semester credits; four of these were A's, the rest B's. He graduated sixth in a class of 46 and was given honours.⁴³

In addition to being a good student, Nkrumah had evinced some interest in religion while he was at Lincoln. It was not therefore too surprising that Dr. George Johnson, Professor of Theology and Philosophy, should have offered him a position as assistant lecturer in philosophy in 1939. On a student passport, he could not stay out of school in the winter months. Yet he could not afford to go to school. In reality there was no choice except to go back to Lincoln.

So many of Nkrumah's decisions as a student were based upon financial necessity. Religious organizations were relatively generous with scholarship funds. Nkrumah, the one-time candidate for the Jesuit Order, entered Lincoln's Presbyterian Theological Seminary as Azikiwe

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Lincoln University - Alumni Title.

had done before him, probably for the same reasons. In his Autobiography, he mentions a scholarship of one hundred dollars from the Presbytery of Washington in July of 1939.⁴⁴ He does not mention the \$150 awarded him by the Phelps-Stokes Fund on March 20, 1941.⁴⁵ This money was sent to Dr. Johnson to be forwarded to the University of Pennsylvania for tuition and fees towards a Master's degree. Nor does he mention the \$55 donation from a Miss Clara Long for tuition in 1940/41.⁴⁶

His religious vocation helped in the matter of a summer job as well; one which provided him with the sort of knowledge he would one day put to good use. On July 17, 1941 he wrote from Philadelphia to Dr. Johnson:

I have not been able to write you ere now due to the fact that I have been kept quite busy. My work has taken me to over 600 Negro homes in Philadelphia. It is all very revealing. I am taking the opportunity to study seriously and closely the Negro from the religious, social and economic standpoint. My emphasis is on the religious.⁴⁷

On December 3, 1941 Dean George Johnson of the Lincoln Seminary wrote to Dr. John Oliver Nelson, Board of Christian Ethics, Philadelphia:

Item #5 (supplementing a letter of December 1 which seems to have disappeared) I cannot find any rating for him in any psychological or vocational aptitude test.

Item #6 He does not use tobacco or alcoholic beverage in any form.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Kwame Nkrumah, The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1957) p. 32.

⁴⁵Lincoln University - Alumni File.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Lincoln University Letter File.

⁴⁸Ibid.

Indeed, Dr. Johnson seems to have been kept quite busy sending letters of recommendation for his protégé. His letter of February 11, 1941 to the Phelps-Stokes people was doubtless a large factor in the award of \$150 mentioned previously. On January 14, 1942 he wrote to Harvard, but to no avail.⁴⁹

Nkrumah meanwhile did not neglect his sponsor. On September 11, 1941 he wrote:

Whatever happens, I cannot and dare not disregard or betray your trust in me. I realize full well my obligations to Lincoln and to you in particular. This is my common denominator in deciding on any step I may take. Perhaps President Wright has spoken to you about everything. I have made my own decision and will let you know when I arrived at Lincoln. I am convinced that in the interpretation of history and future events, the will of God must be discerned. I believe that if He has any task for me in the future, this is the time for thorough preparation. Hence my detest for anything which might thwart with this preparation. I am looking forward to your own decision on this matter when I see you.⁵⁰

In 1942 Nkrumah received a Master of Science degree from the University of Pennsylvania and graduated as a Bachelor of Theology from Lincoln as well. He was also a full instructor in philosophy and first year Greek and Negro history. He continued to teach at Lincoln and to study for a Master of Arts degree (which he received in 1943) at the University of Pennsylvania and subsequently to complete the courses and preliminary examinations for a doctorate. His doctoral dissertation was rejected, however.

On August 6, 1942 he was writing to Dr. Johnson as if his days at Lincoln were over:

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

Meanwhile my thoughts have been continually with Lincoln. My stay there was one of complete enjoyment. It is with deepest appreciation that I think back on what you and Lincoln have done for me. I stand, therefore, at your service in the hope that I may repay some small elements of what you and Lincoln have given me.⁵¹

In this same letter he announced "We have been able to establish an Institute of African Languages and Culture at the University".

Johnson replied:

I am glad that you have been able to organize the Africans in America to serve their country, for I know that you will be able to advise them to do something constructive and not to be led away in foolish planning.⁵²

On January 18, 1943 Johnson wrote rather a strange letter to Nkrumah but, as there is nothing further in the files to explain it, it must remain a mystery:

The enclosed letter has come to President Wright and he has asked me to forward it to you in order that you may answer it as you are able.⁵³

After having formed some idea of the young Nkrumah from his letters, it is interesting to read an assessment of him by two of his instructors. These were written in 1951 at the request of Dr. Horace Mann Bond. The first is by Dr. Paul Kuehner, the second by Dr. Miller.

Good student with limitations in ability at points in higher level college work. Loved controversy. Quiet. Usually withheld his opinions except in debate (on the team). An eager questioner in class. Critical of any criticism of Great Britain, especially by a non-subject. Held strong views. (His concept of primitive man for example).

⁵¹Lincoln University Letter File.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

Courteous, somewhat aloof. Very religious; led prayer services and tended other religious facets conscientiously. Good student. Over dogmatic on certain points of social anthropology. Was Dr. George Johnson's "ace boy" in History and Philosophy. (Deeply) embittered by some indeterminate cause late in his seminary course.⁵⁴

Yet on August 6, 1942 he had graduated from the Seminary and was still writing fulsome letters to the head of that institution. On December 29, 1942 he wrote:

This letter comes to you with a two-fold purpose. First, to convey to you and Mrs. Johnson my best wishes for a merry Christmas and a very happy New Year. Secondly, to ask you to ask Miss Johnson to send transcripts of my complete undergraduate and Seminary records directly to Miss Laura Barrett, Secretary for fellowship, Social Science Research Council, 23 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. It is under Dr. Singer's influence that I am making this application for this fellowship. I hope that in spite of citizenship difficulties I shall get it. If I fail to get it I shall neither be discouraged or disappointed. I am submitting your name for reference. I want the transcripts to be sent to the Secretary for fellowship before January 10.

You will hear from me again; meanwhile I want to wish you and Mrs. Johnson continued health and happiness.⁵⁵

One cannot help wondering if a letter from Dr. Johnson on April 3, 1943 did not give rise to the bitterness mentioned by Dr. Miller:

In the February number of The African Interpreter my attention was called to the "African Funeral Rites" performed at the grave of Professor Aggrey. I base my remarks of course entirely on the account of the ceremony in the "Interpreter", and of course I am not unmindful of the vestiges of heathenism in certain so-called Christian ceremonies; Santa Claus, Christmas Trees, Easter Eggs, Easter Rabbits, Hoy (sic) Cross buns, Ashes to Ashes, etc., etc., but these have long since lost their pagan significance for most educated persons. But I question the expediency of what was done at Salisbury. It was purely an Animistic Service without Christian significance and indeed contradictory to Christian teaching. To pray to heathen gods and to pour

⁵⁴Lincoln University - Alumni File.

⁵⁵Ibid.

libations to them is directly forbidden in the Holy Scriptures; and what Christian meaning can there be in "cutting the sod, and placing it in a small casket, charging Aggrey's spirit to quit to leave the foreign soil in which it had been resting and go back home to Africa to sleep with the spirits of his ancestors and have eternal rest?" Aggrey's spirit is home with his Lord, not in any grave, and is active in his master's service, not sleeping nor resting. It seems to me an insult to the memory of a Christian man, such as I believe Aggrey was, to perform an Animistic ceremony over his bodily remains. Further, that you should perform such after taking the vows for licensure in our Church passes my understanding. There is not a missionary, nor an African minister or elder that would approve of such a heathen ceremony. When we recall the terrific damage to the African that Animism has caused, it is imperative that we who profess ourselves Christians should give no encouragement to it. We should stand fast in the liberty (from superstition) wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again in the yoke of bondage.⁵⁶

Nkrumah replied briefly on April 24, 1943:

With regard to your remarks on the Aggrey Memorial Service which took place at Salisbury, N.C., may I say that a letter of explanation will not do me justice. I am, therefore, trying to find time to visit you at Lincoln in order to talk at length over the issue.

You seem to have misunderstood me partially and you are right at that if all your reasons are culled from the report in "The Interpreter".

May I say, however, that to meet Christ on the highway of Christian ethics and principles by way of Christian salvation, and turn back, is a spiritual impossibility. The burden of my life is to live in such a way that I may become a living symbol of all that is best both in Christianity and in the laws, customs and beliefs of my people. I am a Christian and will ever remain so, but never a blind Christian.⁵⁷

Whether this meeting ever took place has not been disclosed. In any case, could such a meeting have achieved anything once each had spoken to the other in such fashion? These letters are pregnant

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.

with the clash of two cultures. Unless one of them were prepared to give in, reconciliation would be impossible. It is difficult to imagine either of these two particular protagonists giving in on a matter of principle.

This letter marks the end of Kwame Nkrumah's correspondence with Lincoln University, so far as the files are concerned, except for a somewhat dictatorial cable to Dean J. Newton Hill on January 11, 1946:

Cable Under-Treasurer Gray's, N.London WC1 in your opinion Nkrumah is of matriculation standard. Latin urgent.⁵⁸

Enquiries were being made about him however, for as late as December 4, 1946 Dr. Kuehner replied to one of these that Lincoln University did not know Nkrumah's whereabouts and "We do not expect him back".⁵⁹

More than one interpretation of the Nkrumah that Lincoln knew is possible. Bankole Timothy believes that Nkrumah's philosophy of life can be summed up as service to his fellow men. He cites Nkrumah's response to the request for a brief life history and reasons for wanting to go to Lincoln, which appeared on the application blank as proof of this:

I neither know where to begin nor where to end because I feel the story of my life has not been one of achievements. Furthermore, I have not been anxious to tell people of what may have been accomplished by me. In truth, the burden of my life can be summarized into a single line in "The Memoriam" quoted by Cecil Rhodes - "So much to do so little done. . . ."

⁵⁸Lincoln University - Alumni File.

⁵⁹Lincoln University Letter File.

In all things I have held myself to but one ambition and that is to make necessary arrangements to continue my education in a University in the United States of America, that I may be better prepared, and still be of better use to my fellow men.⁶⁰

This may be the simple truth as expressed by an unsophisticated and idealistic young African. A North American youth who used such high-flown prose on a simple application blank would immediately be suspect, although he might be equally sincere. In any case, it was nicely calculated to impress an institution founded for the purpose of training Negroes for service and leadership.

Much has been made of Nkrumah's financial hardship in America. Timothy says he was given his fare and a little over 100 pounds.⁶¹ Nkrumah himself puts the total sum at 150 pounds.⁶² The pound was worth a good deal more in 1935 than it is today - \$4.76 U.S. to be exact. 150 pounds was therefore worth \$714, a goodly sum for those days. Nkrumah says that he had 40 pounds left when he got to Lincoln. Admittedly he spent two weeks in England; one at an hotel and one as the guest of an agent of George Grant (a timber merchant in Nzima). One wonders what he could have done with 60 pounds in that short time, particularly when he had been warned what his expenses would be at Lincoln. He was then, some \$85 short of his total expenses when he arrived at Lincoln. He was given a job in the library and made extra money compiling book reports. The campus is isolated. There would be little need to spend money if one were truly dedicated to education and to service.

⁶⁰Timothy, p. 24 and Lincoln University - Alumni File

⁶¹Timothy, p. 23.

⁶²Nkrumah, Autobiography, p. 25.

Following the golden rule that there is dignity in labour, Kwame Nkrumah did not think any job was beneath him. His ambition was to acquire knowledge which would later equip him to serve his country.⁶³

The fact is that very few people in North America thought any job beneath them in 1935. The difficult thing was to get a job of any kind. Doubtless this is another case of culture clash. In Africa a man with education or any pretensions to "status" considers physical work beneath him. Indeed, it is one of Nkrumah's great problems as president of Ghana to-day.

But to return to Nkrumah's financial woes: he had a much better time of it than did many a native American of that era. He was always able to get work. Lincolnian tradition dictated that they do their best for African students and for would-be theologians. Kwame Nkrumah qualified under both headings. He was able to get a good deal of scholarship help and, in fact, Lincoln University carried him throughout most of his sojourn there. This is not to belittle Nkrumah's efforts on his own behalf. It is to his credit that he worked, and worked hard; but this was hardly exceptional in those days.

Life for Kwame Nkrumah in America was financially difficult. He did not find it easy to pay his college fees, but the authorities at Lincoln were very understanding and kind towards him. He, on the other hand, admitted his indebtedness and made great efforts to settle his College bill. In a letter to Dr. George Johnson, of Lincoln University, the second paragraph runs as follows:

"... I am sure I will be able to reduce my bill during the summer. That has been my primary motive. . . ."⁶⁴

⁶³Timothy, p. 23.

⁶⁴Ibid. p. 27.

There are a good many letters of this sort. Only one gives any indication that these good intentions were fulfilled:

Dear Professor Grim:

Regret that I was not able to give due attention to your card of the 17th August, due to the fact that I was away from the city.

Herewith enclosed a five dollar bill asking that it be accepted as room deposit, and that reservations be made for me and Mr. Fred Rowland. We shall see to it that we settle the balance upon our arrival. Please let me know when school formally opens.⁶⁵

Here is another Bankole Timothy eulogy that bears examination:

While he was at Lincoln Theological Seminary Kwame Nkrumah undertook an intensive socio-religious survey of the Negroes in Philadelphia. In order to obtain the material for his report, he visited over 600 Negro homes. He made similar surveys in German Town and in Reading, Pennsylvania, but, arduous though they were to him these surveys were pleasurable tasks because of his keen interest in social science.⁶⁶

What Mr. Timothy fails to mention is that they were also remunerative tasks, paid for by the Presbyterian Church. He also mentions that:

Kwame Nkrumah's burning desire to repay some of the kindnesses which Lincoln had bestowed upon him was fulfilled in 1943 when he accepted the post of lecturer in Political Science at Lincoln University.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Lincoln University - Alumni File.

⁶⁶Timothy, p. 31.

⁶⁷Ibid. p. 34.

Again he does not mention that lecturers get paid, however noble their motives. He had been an assistant instructor since 1939 and a full instructor since 1942, according to Nkrumah, since 1943 according to Timothy and in 1944-45 according to Lincoln University files.⁶⁸ Why then did he have to work in the Sun Shipbuilding Yard at Chester from midnight to eight in order to "keep body and soul together"?⁶⁹ In point of fact, they very nearly parted for he caught

⁶⁸Letter of Dr. Paul Kuehner, Registrar of Lincoln University, to the author, June 26th, 1964. Dr. Kuehner states:

As for compensation for Nkrumah and Azikiwe, I can state the following: Azikiwe is listed as instructor in our catalogue from 1930-33. In 1932-33 he received \$1,000 as well as board and room. During the same year I received \$1,350 and room, but not board. He probably received similar compensation for the previous two years. There is no indication anywhere what Nkrumah received. Moreover, he is listed as instructor in Philosophy and History only in 1944-45. Prior to that time he assisted Dr. Foster, as well as Dr. George Johnson, in various capacities, but Dr. Foster does not recall what compensation he received. Both Nkrumah and Azikiwe during these periods attended courses at the University of Pennsylvania, and Azikiwe also attended courses at Columbia. The cost of commuting probably was fairly expensive.

The author has not so far been able to confirm Azikiwe's attendance at Columbia from other sources and cannot estimate how long he attended that institution. The point is, however, that Dr. Nkrumah went only to the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The cost of a one-way ticket today is 90 cents. The bus company, and people who travelled for a comparable distance in the same area, say that fares have risen, possibly to three times as much as they were in 1940-45. Even with present day rates, the cost of commuting three times a week for seven months is only \$151.28. Out of \$1,000 with living costs supplied, this does not seem excessive.

⁶⁹Nkrumah, Autobiography, p. 35.

pneumonia and decided to give up the struggle and return home. Timothy, however, states that his hardships had led him to embrace a philosophy of "service before self", to give up his lectureship at Lincoln, "a career which was pregnant with possibilities, and made him decide to dedicate his whole life to the liberation of Mother Africa".⁷⁰

Finally, to quote Timothy once more:

During the years when Kwame Nkrumah was away from Lincoln and pursuing further studies at Pennsylvania University, he cherished in his heart a profound affection and gratitude for Lincoln University, which had fashioned his academic career. Neither did he forget the lecturers at Lincoln who had been kind to him during his campus days. The following extracts from his letters are eloquent testimony. . . .⁷¹

It is easy enough to write letters, particularly when one has a vested interest in preserving good relations; it is also quite probable that Nkrumah was genuinely fond of Lincoln University and his instructors there. What is certain is the fact that letters ceased after Dr. Johnson's criticism of him in April, 1943 (at least according to the files). He remained there as a lecturer until he left for London in May of 1945, but there are no more glowing testimonials on file.

What is the truth about this strange young man? Can he possibly have been as noble and selfless as Bankole Timothy makes him out to be? Indeed, could anyone? The fact is that Lincoln University subsidized him heavily throughout his academic career. It was to his advantage to be courteous, grateful, co-operative and religious. To

⁷⁰Timothy, p. 35.

⁷¹Ibid. p. 33. Note that Nkrumah was never really "away" from Lincoln University.

have been otherwise would have been tantamount to committing academic suicide. Yet there were certain areas in which he held strong views, particularly on social anthropology, and upon these he could not be shaken.

To admit that Nkrumah acted as he did from motives of self-interest is not to accuse him of hypocrisy. If there was one lesson which his race had learned over the centuries, it was that a Negro had more hope of gaining his objective by keeping his thoughts to himself, complying with the wishes of white men who could help him, and appearing to be grateful.

It is never suggested that Nkrumah acted as he did in his early days from personal ambition; yet he would scarcely have been human if this were not so. All successful leaders believe in their own charisma, else other men would not believe in it. Nor is personal ambition and a belief in one's own unique abilities necessarily incompatible with the desire to serve one's country. An education was a prime necessity if Kwame Nkrumah was to achieve either. The road to success in this field lay in pleasing the only institution that was likely to help him. Moreover, Lincoln University had been kind to him and he probably was grateful.

Dr. Johnson's stern letter must have come as a great shock to a proud and sensitive young African. At home religion was integrated with every aspect of daily living. The funeral rites performed at Aggrey's grave had a social, as much as a religious, basis. Christianity, on the other hand, is a very complex religious concept. The Scriptures teach that it is as easy for a rich man to get to heaven as it is for a camel to go through the eye of a needle.

They also teach that it is a sin if a man does not multiply his talents. The trend over the centuries has been for Christians to ignore those precepts which have proved inconvenient in daily life. There are others upon which they stand fast, and upon which the Calvinist forms of Christianity are particularly rigid. So far as Dr. Johnson was concerned, Nkrumah had violated these and had desecrated his solemn vows by taking part in the funeral rites at Aggrey's grave.

Nkrumah had doubtless noticed that Christians do not always practise what they preach. In any case, it probably did not occur to him that performing an African service over an African grave was sacreligious. It was simply a dear and familiar ceremony which gave comfort and pleasure to himself, to his African friends and, presumably, to Dr. Aggrey, all of whom were so far away from home. To Dr. Johnson, Aggrey was a Christian first and an African second. Nkrumah knew better.

It is doubtful that any white person can understand, let alone explain in a meaningful way, just what these religious ceremonies represent to an African. The following excerpt, by an African, may perhaps help to explain the attitude of Nkrumah and that of Dr. Johnson:

My view of animism is completely different from the Christian one, which reduces it, more or less, to an anthropological term. This term animism is a nebulous one. It does not apply and will not apply in a free African continent, because it does not conjure up religious aspirations, the fears and hopes of the people. Animism is a limited term. It connotes fear. The African god, or keeper of the sanctuary, was not afraid of the spirit. He was not afraid of his ancestor. . . .

This mystery, this wonderful spirit, has baffled the Western superstitious; it has mystified them. The search for the practical or logical explanation of this mystique will never be possible with the Western analytical approach, because it is an approach that seeks to exploit rather than to give. . . .

What I call the "primitive" is the Christian influence, the mercantile, the commercial enterprises, the colonial era in all its facets.

The effect of Christianity has not been deep on the African mind. The rhythm, which is inherent, is still there because of our religious beliefs. The African retains that which is characteristic of his own society, because the society is not completely disorganized; it's in the process of evolution.⁷²

In his reply, Nkrumah seemed at first inclined to offer excuses and to make his peace. However, he apparently also felt that he must make his position clear. He saw no reason why he could not combine Christianity with the laws, customs and beliefs of his country - but this was exactly what Dr. Johnson could never condone.

Opinion regarding both Nkrumah and Azikiwe during their student days is remarkably uniform. So far as Nkrumah is concerned, a rather dreadful little ditty of four lines, composed by his classmates for the year book, sums him up as well as a more polished description might do:

Africa is the beloved of Nkrumah's dreams;
Philosopher, thinker with forceful schemes.
In aesthetics, politics, he's in the field;
Nkrumah, "tres interessant", radiates appeal. ⁷³

After all these years, these lines are as true as they were in 1939. Nkrumah does radiate appeal, when he chooses. His goal remains the same: African independence and unity. He never seems to

⁷²American Society of African Culture, Editors, Pan-Africanism Reconsidered (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), pps. 350 - 351. (Comments by Ben Enwonwu of Nigeria to remarks of Alioune Diop of Senegal on "African Personality and Négritude").

⁷³Lincoln University - Alumni File.

have doubted that he would be the man to achieve both. In his Autobiography, written in 1957, he mentions sampling various political organizations in America and remarks:

My main aim was to learn the technique of organization. I knew that when I eventually returned to the Gold Coast I was going to be faced with this problem. I knew that whatever the programme for the solution of the colonial question might be, success would depend upon the organization adopted. I concentrated on finding a formula by which the whole colonial question and the problem of imperialism could be solved.⁷⁴

A man of such single-minded purpose uses any tool that is handy. For him the end truly justifies the means. He is willing to sacrifice himself to the cause, (although, of course, he knows he is meant to lead it), and he accepts whatever comes his way without undue gratitude. He may express gratitude, since not to do so might prove unfortunate, but he does not feel gratitude in the warm and personal way a less dedicated man would do. Whatever is tendered to him he regards as his just due, donated by Providence to his sacred mission.

Lincoln University was such a tool; so was Dr. Johnson until he demonstrated his complete unfitness by that unfortunate letter. It is significant that, unlike most Africans, Nkrumah got along very well with American Negroes. He was, and is, a devout disciple of Marcus Aurelius Garvey. As late as 1957 he believed with Herzkovits "that the Negro of America had in no way lost his cultural contact with the African continent".⁷⁵

⁷⁴Nkrumah, Autobiography, p. 45.

⁷⁵Ibid. p. 46.

Dr. Johnson's letter was proof positive that the white man, no matter how well-disposed, could never understand the African. He might give help, but the help would be given on his own terms and these he would attempt to dictate. Nkrumah did not take kindly to criticism or dictation then; he does not now. He will still accept the services of anyone, of any sex or of any race who shows goodwill and who might be useful. In short, he has not changed since the days when he wrote, "I cannot and dare not disregard or betray your trust in me". Indeed he could not - then.

Azikiwe, on the other hand, put no trust in anyone except himself when he was in America. In 1927, in the toast he proposed at Storer College, he said:

From what we have been told by our fathers and teachers, the ocean of life is tempestuous and it is filled with hidden rocks and shoals. However, we are encouraged to know that only lion-hearted men and women can endure and survive life's problems successfully. That being the case, it is my hope that high school graduates will gird their loins for the struggle and remember that in the final analysis, they are the captains of their fate and the masters of their destiny.⁷⁶

Azikiwe's student years were indeed an attempt to survive and to endure; to become the captain of his fate. He wrote very few letters to Lincoln and these few were impersonal letters with a light touch. He tried for scholarships but was not obsequious about it. He was appointed a part-time lecturer in 1931, at a salary of \$500 plus board and room;⁷⁷ but he does not suggest that he was repaying any kindness to Lincoln University by accepting the post.

⁷⁶Azikiwe, Zik, p. 1.

⁷⁷Lincoln University - Alumni File.

An interesting sidelight on Azikiwe is revealed by the following letter from Arthur E. Jones of Lincoln to William C. Biddle of Lansdowne, Pennsylvania on March 31, 1932 when the latter enquired discreetly about him.

. . . assistant in the Department of Economics and Sociology and took over one or two courses both here and at the University of Pennsylvania. During the present year he has been part-time instructor in the same department and has been continuing his graduate work at University of Pennsylvania.

As thee is possibly aware, he was interested in joining the Society of Friends and in general I believe his philosophy of life is one which is congenial to our viewpoint. On the other hand I cannot encourage him to seek formal membership with the Society of Friends. I have talked with Bernard Walton concerning this point.

I should be very glad if thee find time to stop in at Lincoln University some time and look over our institution.

With kind regards, I am,
Sincerely thine,
Arthur E. Jones. 78

When Azikiwe was bitter, he let the fact be known. He does not seem to have regulated his actions nor his words for posterity - nor even for his own best interests. He worked hard, studied hard and achieved his academic objectives in his own individualistic fashion. He poured out his hostilities in "Liberia in World Politics" and later in newspapers on the Gold Coast and in Nigeria. He was as rabid a nationalist as was Nkrumah, and indeed, pioneered the field. Until Nkrumah led the Gold Coast to independence - possibly because circumstances were more fortuitous in the Gold Coast than in Nigeria - he had only done what Azikiwe had done first. Time will tell which has rendered his country better service.

So far as Lincoln University is concerned, the verdict can be given right now. Nkrumah's protestations of loyalty and devotion have been cited above. Bankole Timothy says that "Lincoln University in Pennsylvania was his intellectual home in America. It was there that Nkrumah surveyed the vista of knowledge and began his great search after truth."⁷⁹

This may be true; but it is highly unlikely that Lincoln University knowingly produced a Marxist and an undenominational Christian. It seems more probable that Lincoln was merely the base of his operations. For one thing, Lincoln provided a home away from home, a rare convenience in a foreign land. For another, there was a small body of Africans with whom, and through whom, Nkrumah could work. He claims to have founded the African Students' Association of United States and Canada at the University of Pennsylvania. William Fitzjohn of Sierra Leone, however, in some remarks delivered at Lincoln in 1962 said:

The foreign minister of Ghana could support me in saying that the idea of forming what is now called the African Students' Association of the United States and Canada was evolved on this campus. The President of Ghana today was our first president and the foreign minister was general secretary, and I was one of the executive members of the association. Together we worked hard to tell people in this country about Africa and African freedom.⁸⁰

Wherever it was formed, the Association marks Nkrumah's first attempt at organized political activity. He took part in many other such activities during his ten year sojourn in America. It is probable that his studies at Lincoln University gave him background and a certain discrimination in these matters, but his political interpretation has been his own.

⁷⁹Timothy, p. 26.

⁸⁰Lincoln University Bulletin, Volume 65, Commencement Issue, Summer 1962 Number 4, p. 21.

When he had learned all that he could learn in America, he left for London. So far as the files at Lincoln University reveal anything, they indicate that he forgot all about that institution. His mind was on other, more important, things. There must surely have been some communication between Nkrumah and the University, since in June 1951 he accepted an invitation to return there to accept an honorary Doctor of Laws degree. Nkrumah says that he wrote to Dr. Horace Mann Bond accepting this honour. Presumably Dr. Bond still has this acceptance; and possibly other Nkrumah correspondence as well.

His speech on this occasion contained the usual expressions of gratitude and humility. Next came a recital of his political activities over the years and a thorough account of the difficulties the Gold Coast was facing, along with a plea for help. One statement is typical of the man:

I again spoke of the needs of the Gold Coast for technicians, machinery and capital to develop its great natural resources and explained that I was appealing to the democracies of Britain and the United States for this assistance in the first place, but if this should not be forthcoming, I would be forced to turn elsewhere. I said that there was much for the Negro people of America to do to help their ancestral country both then and in the future... .⁸¹

In 1962, when Ako Adjei also received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree, he brought greetings from Dr. Nkrumah, but they were the usual formal greetings conveyed in one sentence.

Lincoln University presented Nkrumah with a copy of Carl Sandberg's Abraham Lincoln, signed by the author, when Ghana became independent. According to the official donor, Dr. Nkrumah seemed very

⁸¹Nkrumah, Autobiography, p. 164.

pleased - but he has never written the University to say so.⁸² 67.

In 1963, a former classmate, Franklin H. Williams, went to Ghana on a mission with Sargent Shriver to discuss the possibility of a Peace Corps program in that country. Newspapers in Ghana are closely supervised and the two Americans read with some surprise the leading editorial in the daily paper:

A surprised and unwelcome visitor in our country to-day is R. Sargent Shriver, brother-in-law of the young president of the United States and director of the dubious Peace Corps. We reject all twaddle about Peace Corps humanitarianism and we see in this program nothing more than an effort on the part of President Kennedy to export the dying remnants of American capitalist ideology, behind the smiling faces of Yankee youth.⁸³

Doubtless such news items are a source of great disappointment to Lincoln staff members who must have hoped, as educators are wont to do, that they have imparted their own particular sense of basic values to each student who has come under their instruction.

⁸²Interview with Dr. Donald C. Yelton, Lincoln University Librarian, April 1st, 1964.

⁸³Lincoln University Bulletin Vol. 66, Founder's Day Issue, Spring 1963, No. 2 p. 13.

CHAPTER V

CORRELATION AND ASSESSMENT

Educational Impact

What then, has been the effect of Lincoln University upon the leaders of West Africa? Can it be assessed with any degree of assurance? The answer to the first question is that Lincoln University has had a good deal of effect on British West Africa; but whether this is because Lincoln University happens to be situated in the United States of America, whether it is because Nnamdi Azikiwe and Kwame Nkrumah happened to go there, or whether Lincoln University offers instruction uniquely suited to African needs, is something else again. The answer to the second question is even more indefinite, and hinges upon the fact that it is not always what is true that matters, but what one thinks is true. An African student, A. Babs Fafunwa, has expressed this latter feeling in an article which he wrote in the Chicago Defender, April 8, 1950:

Since the giant, like Rip Van Winkle, slept so long and since her once-flourishing civilization is not in tune with modern trends of events, he has to acquire what appears to be the missing link between the old civilization of his and the modern one. Hence the great exodus of African students to this great continent of America.

WHY AMERICA?

Many Americans as well as non-Americans have asked us why we choose to come to America instead of other places. The answer to this question is not at all far-fetched.

Our people - our predecessors - have been going to the United Kingdom for the past 70 years for higher education and they have made great progress indeed. They made (and our

contemporaries are still making) fine scholars in their various fields of endeavours. But while the British education is very intellectual in nature, it is less dynamic when compared with the American education. While the British education is narrow and conservative, American education is broad and liberal.

Personally, I like British education as well as American, but for a rising nation such as ours need that type of education that has more dynamics and less conservatism in it. We need that type of education that would make us more independent and less dependent. More of a producer and less of a consumer of other people's finished products especially when we are blessed with abundance of raw materials.

As forces of destruction, tyranny, imperialism and dictatorship loom largely on the human horizon today, it becomes imperative for the lovers of freedom to help those countries, which are originally democratic in their attitudes towards life, stand on their own two feet. The sons of Africa see America as one place where man has made and is making a sincere effort to translate the ideals of democracy into practical ways of living, although America has its own headaches, too!

The first African pioneer of note to study in this country was Dr. Aggrey of Africa but the living exponent of American education in all its entirety is Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, M.A., M.Sc., LL.D., the most feared opponent of colonial imperialism in West Africa, president of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, member of the Nigerian legislature and owner of a string of newspapers, the most famous of which is the West African Pilot.

He inspired ten other Africans in 1939 to venture into the unknown and seek for the golden fleece. In his own words he said, "Go ye unto the world and seek more light".

Conspicuous among those who have returned and are doing good in this batch include Mr. Mbonu Ojike, M.A., B.Sc., director of African Development Corporation, whose capital is in the neighborhood of \$2,000,000; Mr. Ozumba Mbadiwe, M.S., director of African Academy of Arts and Research, the headquarters of which is in Africa House in New York City; Dr. Nwafor Orizu, M.A., LL.D., president of American Council on African Education; Dr. Ikejiani, M.D., D.S.C., lecturer at Ibadan University, Nigeria.

. . . These people and many others both in Africa and in the United States have shown the African youth "the way to go". These are the people who have either in action or in speech demonstrated that American education is "good also".

The new trend therefore is the American way although greater number of the African students still go to the United Kingdom. The greater percentage of those who proceed to England are

government scholars whereas up to this moment no colonial government has deemed it fit to send one student to America for further studies under its auspices.⁸⁴

This was written in 1950. In 1964 African students are still thinking in this same fashion, according to the Nigerian students interviewed at Lincoln. In the minds of Africans the word "dynamic" runs like a minor theme through all conversations which have to do with American education. Furthermore, it will be recalled that in 1950 neither the Gold Coast nor Nigeria had yet achieved independence. Since that happy event was achieved under two American-educated leaders, the prestige of American education has risen enormously.

There have never been as many students from the Gold Coast, or Ghana, as there have been from Nigeria.⁸⁵ Whether this is because there are so many more Nigerians than there are Ghanaians, or whether it is because Dr. Azikiwe is more dedicated to the ideals of Lincoln University,

⁸⁴Lincoln University - Alumni File, (Chicago Defender, April 8, 1950.)

⁸⁵Letter, Dr. Kuehner to author, June 26, 1964:

A breakdown of students from Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Ghana is as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Nigeria</u>	<u>Sierra Leone</u>	<u>Ghana</u>
1946-47	6	4	0
1953-54	9	0	1
1957-58	4	6	3
1963-64	26	2	2

The large number of Nigerian students is doubtless due to the fact that the government authorities in Nigeria encouraged their students to study at Lincoln University, while those in Ghana very much discouraged them and, in some cases, refused permits for the exchange of funds.

only he and Dr. Nkrumah can reveal. The normal ratio since independence seems to run about 25 Nigerians to 2 Ghanaians.

Until 1938, only twenty Nigerian students had gone to America to study. Azikiwe returned to Nigeria in 1937. In 1938 twelve Nigerians set off for America and of these, eleven went to Lincoln University. Coleman claims that the three Gold Coastians who went there at the same time were also inspired by Azikiwe. In those days the United States had not yet assumed the awesome responsibilities that became hers after World War II. Twisting the British Lion's tail was considered fair game; indeed, to most Americans it seemed almost a public duty to point out to Britain the error of her colonial ways. The nature of the British Commonwealth was not understood. In point of fact, it is still not understood. American leaders were prone to making vast anti-imperialist pronouncements which caused the British to wonder if the United States were friend or foe. African students in the United States believed that at last they had found a powerful ally; but power without responsibility had its usual unfortunate results. Hopes were raised only to be dashed - or deferred.

. . . we strongly urge the governing bodies of the British Empire, and their allies in the cause of democracy, to grant internal self-government to the colonial peoples of Africa. . . . The fundamental principles of democracy as expressed in the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter . . . must be applied immediately. . . . (We) emphatically demand that those who claim to be fighting for democracy implement their expressed ideals by considering Africa a sovereign land in all of its glorious heritage and history. . . . ⁸⁶

⁸⁶Coleman, p. 242. (Charter of the African Students' Association of the United States and Canada).

If they had doubted before, African students in America returned home convinced that their cause was just, since even white Americans agreed with them. So far as cultural impact is concerned, anti-colonialism, the doctrines of the equality of man and the right of self-determination of nations, were the primary contributions which America had to make in the education of foreign students. If Africans noticed some discrepancy (as they did and as they do) between these moral principles and American attitudes towards Cuba, Communist China, those Pacific islands which have seemed necessary as military bases and the obvious inequality of the American Negro, these shortcomings tend to be overlooked in the clear-cut advantages of "the American Way of Life".

Nothing succeeds like success and Africans want to be successful. Once independence, their primary goal, was achieved or seemed capable of achievement, African Negroes asked nothing better than the opportunities their American cousins have as their birthright. One Nigerian student said that the chief impact of America on him had been one which he had not looked for, and one which obviously caused him pain. Life in America had lessened his sympathy for "minority groups". He feels that American Negroes have for the asking the one thing that Africans prize beyond gold - education. If American Negroes are not accepted at one school, there are many others where they will be accepted. Men like Ralph Bunche seem to prove that there are no limitations on the heights to which an American Negro of ability and integrity may rise.

Furthermore, the economic lot of the average American Negro represents wealth beyond the wildest dreams of the average African. It is curious that so many Africans do not seem to realize that

educational and economic opportunities are not enough. American Negroes want social equality and recognition of the dignity of man, no matter what his race or colour, just as much as do African Negroes. They may not express this desire in such self-conscious terms as "négritude" and "The African Personality", but the want is no less great.

After all, the Emancipation Proclamation was read on September 22, 1862. The Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 attempted to enforce it; The Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 guaranteed to all men equal rights and equal protection of the laws; and the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 guaranteed equal voting rights to all men. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have still not been fully implemented.

The American Negro has been amazingly patient for more than one hundred years. It is not surprising that he is becoming increasingly insistent that a fairly good standard of living is no longer enough. Those West Africans who lament that they cannot understand the complaints of the American Negro, might do well to consider that, as they envy his comparative affluence, so the Negro in the United States envies their status as first-class citizens in a brave new world of their own making. No doubt an African from Kenya or South Africa would understand and sympathize.

The chance for misunderstanding and mutual disappointment is greater at Lincoln than elsewhere because the enrollment of foreign students is greater at Lincoln than elsewhere - 18% as compared with the national norm of 1.5%, in fact, African students on the whole are more mature than their American fellow students. They are more serious and more dedicated. Failure for them would spell disaster.

For example, total fees per semester are \$755; per year \$1510. In addition, miscellaneous fees for such things as Freshman Week \$12, Matriculation \$12, Breakage Deposit \$15 etc. are charged as the student incurs them. He has also to consider travelling expenses, suitable clothing, books and other incidentals. He must maintain himself during the summer months. Finally, coming as he does from a land where an education is desired by all and vouchsafed to but few, he realizes just how lucky he is even to be at Lincoln University. An American boy can afford to indulge in fun and games. He can not.

Lincoln University recognizes these problems and does its best to help. Mention has been made of the Orientation Program, given so that foreign students may adjust to life on an American campus before actual enrollment. In 1963, a Foreign Student Summer Training Program was begun:

As an emergency measure and with only about two weeks intervening between the date of official approval and the opening date of the program, Lincoln University and Dr. Thomas M. Jones, professor of history and director of the operation known as the Foreign Student Summer Training Program, completed a course of study and recreation and made provision for an indeterminate number of foreign students having no adequate provision for the summer months.

The question of how a foreign student, studying in the United States, should spend the summer months from the closing of his institution in late May or early June until it re-opens in mid-September has long been pondered by educators, social agencies, employers, government agencies, and the students. Some foreign students are confronted with the problem of earning enough money to meet the next years bills; others want to use the summer months to complete their college studies as rapidly as possible; and a substantial few face the grim problem of survival with no funds and no jobs.

To minimize the hardship and the experience of poverty so severe in some cases as to nullify the beneficial effects of the foreign student's pursuit of a higher education in this country, the Agency for International Development and the State Department granted Lincoln University the funds required to conduct a pilot program.

The first student enrolled in the Summer Training program arrived on June 16, and some continued to arrive until August 15. A total of sixty-two students from twenty-three different countries and four continents participated in the program. They came from thirty-six different colleges and universities, and were referred to Lincoln by twenty-two agencies. They ranged in age from 17 to 44.

A teaching staff of ten offered a variety of academic courses and non-credit vocational skills courses. The academic courses included English literature, college algebra, Statistics, Economic Development, Introductory French, Modern European History, and Public Administration. To improve the vocational skills of the group, each student was required to take at least one of the non-credit courses: Typing and Business Methods, Elements of Agriculture, Driver Training, and Mechanics.⁸⁷

The Lincoln University Bulletin further describes the African Center:

A new and very significant addition to Lincoln's African Programs and to its long tradition of service to that country is the African Center, instituted last year and continuing this year under a Federal grant.

Last year there were sixteen students enrolled in the program: eight from Angola, four from Mozambique, two from South West Africa, and one each from Guinea and Uganda. Two of the group attended the Oxford Area High School last year and are now enrolled in Lincoln University. The others, enrolled in special or regular classes at Lincoln last year, have gone on to study at other colleges and universities.

The African Center was supervised last year by Dr. John A. Marcum with Dr. Isaac Mapp as student advisor and Mrs. Harold Gunn as special instructor in English and co-ordinator of a tutorial system involving Lincoln students.

. . . The presence on campus of this generally more mature group of students from Africa further enriches the international and intercultural nature of Lincoln and gives greater immediacy to world problems.⁸⁸

⁸⁷The Lincoln University Bulletin, Emancipation Issue, Fall-Winter, 1962-63 No. 1. pps. 13-15.

⁸⁸Ibid. pps. 20-21.

These are, of course, fairly recent developments and they indicate only a continuance of the ideals of service for which Lincoln has always stood. We might recall Kwame Nkrumah's difficulties in this context. He arrived without sufficient funds but, despite occasional stern reminders from the Treasurer, he was able to continue his studies there on token payments and expressions of gratitude. Evidently Columbia University was not as understanding. Moreover, Lincoln University staff members explored every avenue in order to enable him to secure the money necessary for post-graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania.

It seems clear that, as Mr. Fafunwa puts it, a fair section of British West African youth believes that American education is "good also". Some prefer it. It is true that there is a widespread idea that education is easier to get in the United States. Unlike most British universities, academic standards in many American colleges and universities are not so high as to be prohibitive. Moreover, Britain has had a hard time finding space for her own students in recent years, let alone colonial aspirants. The United States has over one thousand degree institutions and seems anxious to extend hospitality to foreign students.

Biographers of Azikiwe say that it was in the United States that he developed his passionate thirst for freedom. Certainly, it was here that he learned the art of swaying public opinion through the twin media of oratory and the press. Here too, he picked up the fundamental principles which govern what we know as machine politics. Nkrumah imbibed similar knowledge at the same fount.

Their successful application of the many rules and theories they picked up in the United States has given rise to a wide-spread belief among the young men of the Gold Coast and Nigeria that while British education may produce lawyers and doctors, only American education can produce a worthwhile politician. More and more West African youths who have visions of becoming leaders in

the next generation are turning their eyes across the Atlantic towards the institutions of learning which alone, they feel, can equip them for so high a destiny.⁸⁹

Thus we come back again to the apparent fact that it is the influence of Azikiwe and Nkrumah that impels West African students to go to America to study. Azikiwe's interest in, and fondness for, his alma mater have been dealt with in detail. It seems pertinent to note that his neices were educated in the United States and that his brother is now a senior at Lincoln University.

In 1950, Dr. Horace Mann Bond, former president of Lincoln University, was invited to make a survey of educational needs in Nigeria. He was invited to do so by the Africans themselves, and, until that time, he was the only man they had so invited.

In November 1934, on his return from the United States, Azikiwe delivered a speech at the Methodist's Boy's School in Lagos:

The capacity to know what is the periphrastic conjunction, or to solve the Pythagorean problem, or to understand the principles of heat, light and sound, or to translate Aramic, or to know all the important dates of British history, does not indicate true academic scholarship. These are the superficialities of a decadent educational system. These do not make for a dynamic social order. They are the by-products of the imitative complex which Gabriel Tarde expounds excellently in one of his books.⁹⁰

Nor had he changed his mind when he spoke to the annual convention of the Nigerian Union of Teachers on January 7, 1958:

My government is keen on relating the education of our people to their daily needs. The teaching profession should not be satisfied only with raising academic standards in its

⁸⁹Lincoln University - Alumni File, (Flint Michigan Journal, March 2, 1956 - by a British journalist, Major Spike Hennessy, under the title "British Influence Growing in West Africa." No page number evident on clipping.)

⁹⁰Azikiwe, "Zik", p. 23.

methods of imparting knowledge, but it should also realize that political advancement has brought in its train certain social and economic problems which can be solved successfully by correct perspectives in education. The products of our schools are holding their own so far as the classics and the humanities are concerned; but as a government, we are being confronted with administrative problems which can be handled successfully only if we have the men and women with technical know-how.

We appreciate that contemporary philosophy of education has given the teachers and the taught definite objectives, to wit: accumulation of knowledge, training of character, development of the creative faculties, control of the emotions, inculcation of spiritual values, etc., but we are faced with practical problems which must be solved in a practical manner, hence we now visualize the need for broadening the curricula of our schools so as to make them more practical in their content.⁹¹

Kwame Nkrumah, in a pamphlet written in 1943 for the African Students Association of the United States and Canada, expressed much the same sentiments:

If education is life, then the weakness of the school system in Africa is evident. The activities of these schools should be made to relate to the life of the people so as to equip and fit them to fit their varied life demands. The old conception of education as being exclusively academic still dominates the colonial school program of Africa. Such anachronistic conceptions should give way to a new process of training and educating in life and current social, political, technical, and economic ideals now in vogue in progressive schools in America, China and Russia.

. . . Any educational program which fails to furnish criteria for the judgment of social, political, economic and technical progress of the people it purports to serve has completely failed in its purpose, and has become an educational fraud.⁹²

⁹¹Ibid. p. 41.

⁹²Lincoln University - Alumni File, (Education and Nationalism in Africa, by Francis Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah, African Students' Association of United States and Canada).

In 1962, Ako Adjei, then minister of Foreign Affairs for Ghana, received an honorary degree - Doctor of Laws - from Lincoln University.

In his address upon this occasion, he said:

. . . we exchanged ideas in fellowship and mutual self respect; we were inspired by the dynamism of the life of the student community here at Lincoln and the members of the faculty provided us with an ideal of devoted leadership and service, which made a lasting impression on our minds. . . .

On behalf of my old friends from Africa, who were students on this campus, I salute Lincoln University, the members of the faculty and the Board of Trustees for all they have done for African students in the past, and are still doing, as a contribution to the educational advancement of the youth of the new Africa.

It is significant to observe that in various countries in Africa today, men of the Lincoln tradition of dynamism and constructive leadership have distinguished themselves in all aspects of the national life of their respective countries. . . .

Considerations of time as well as reasons of propriety preclude mention of other African students of Lincoln University and their achievements. The references I have made thus far serve to demonstrate the extent to which Lincoln University has contributed to the educational development of Africa and to the promotion of the nationalistic movement in recent times - a movement which has resulted in the emergence of new sovereign and independent states in Africa. The achievement and exploits of these devoted Lincoln men are a credit and a source of pride to Lincoln University.

In this regard, it should be acknowledged that, through the services of Lincoln University, the United States of America and the American people as a whole are entitled to claim a measure of credit for the development of the national movement in modern Africa, and should be proud of the significant contribution which dynamic African leaders of the Lincoln tradition have made in the nationalist struggle for freedom and independence in Africa.⁹³

On the same occasion, the Honorable William Fitzjohn, High Commissioner of Sierre Leone to the Court of St. James, was given an

⁹³Lincoln University Bulletin, Vol. 65, Commencement Issue, Summer 1962 Number 4, p. 19.

honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. In his remarks, Fitzjohn said:

When I finished my undergraduate work at Lincoln and my post-graduate work elsewhere, I had spent eight years in this country. When I returned home I undertook to convince my government that America has a great contribution to make to Africa, especially through its institutions of higher learning. Of course it is natural that our country should have been inclined towards its British tradition. This led many to think that, unless you are graduated from Cambridge or Oxford or Durham, you are not quite well educated.

It took a long time to show to our government that the universities and colleges in this country have a contribution to make to Sierra Leone and to other countries in Africa. I moved a resolution in our legislature asking our government to award scholarships to our students who are qualified for study, not only in Great Britain but in other countries of the world such as Germany or Israel or Lebanon, but specifically I had in mind the United States of America. And I recall that, in the course of the debate, the leader of the opposition, a very distinguished man of Victorian character who was an African but more British than the British themselves, rose up to oppose the motion and said, "This motion is an outright challenge to our British culture." The motion passed the house, however, and his was the only dissenting voice. And it is for that reason that so many more Sierra Leonians have come to this country since that time and we have gone back to Africa to make our own contributions.⁹⁴

It is not surprising that Azikiwe, Nkrumah, Adjei, Fitzjohn and the others think that the way they were educated was the correct, and indeed the only, way. Most men do. However, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Have they provided their people with this type of education? One should keep in mind the fact that Nkrumah and Adjei were educated in Britain as well as in the United States.

At the Third Annual Conference of the American Society of African Culture, held in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania from June 22 to June 26, 1960, delegates from African nations spoke

⁹⁴Ibid. Volume 65, Commencement Issue, Summer 1962, Number 4, p. 22.

their minds upon education as well as upon other topics. Incidentally, two of the featured speakers were from Lincoln University: Dr. J. A. Marcum of the political science department and Dr. J. Newton Hill, who had been at Lincoln from 1933 until he became director of the Lagos office of the African-American Institute in 1959.

Vincent C. Ikeotuonye, then Headmaster, Zixton Grammar School, Onitsha, said:

One of the governments of the Federation is now building a university, The University of Nigeria at Nsukka; it does so at the cost of great hardship. It is spending more than a quarter of its annual budget on this project. But this university is not being patterned on the classical tradition of the European universities. It is dedicated to the service of man and his societies, in the belief that the activities of man in his quest for life, liberty, and the pursuit of goodness should be the subject of university inquiry - the principle animating the institution of the American land-grant system.

At this point there are certain things I would like to point out about the influence of American education and of American Negroes on the rise of Nigerian nationalism. The British are very much baffled by the drive, the initiative, of some of us who have been educated in America. They sometimes want to know the origin of the drive. I must admit that a good part of it is the result of native characteristics. But we have also gained much from our experiences in America. I say these things for the edification of those persons who helped us to achieve this drive.

American education is unquestionably liberal and egalitarian. And when we Africans arrive here, coming from an area where higher education is an aristocratic attribute, we receive the shock of our lives. As an example: When some other students and I arrived at Lincoln University in 1946, our suitcases were brought out and we stood around with our hands in our pockets waiting for someone to carry them. Then a short fellow, elderly, came over to us and picked up the suitcases; we followed him to our rooms and he helped us to get settled; all the while we addressed him as we would any other porter. Eventually he said, "Gentlemen, let's go over to my place for something to eat." We were bewildered, feeling that perhaps this porter was being too impertinent. However, we were very hungry, so we went with him. To our permanent humiliation, we soon discovered that the gentleman was the dean of the faculty of education. This and many other similar experiences taught us

a permanent lesson: The purpose of education is to make us useful to our society and to ourselves. This is one of the major lessons we acquired with our education in America.

There is something magical in the statement that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness should be self-evident truths, and that for these things governments are instituted. As soon as we come here, we begin to learn this liberal philosophy. Rather, we don't actually learn it; we absorb it - by going to Philadelphia, to Washington, by seeing what really lies behind that old song we learned when we were children, "John Brown's body lies a-moulderin' in the grave." And after we absorb these things, we go back to Africa determined that it shall be our duty to see that we are free. The quest for freedom has a way in which it redeems a person of his past. This is another lesson that we take from our American education.

We have also learned much from the lives of the Negroes in America. We have learned to be determined in the pursuit of an end without being embittered, and without being inclined toward the use of dynamite. Observe that in our political struggle in West Africa, we have evolved a non-violent method. My belief is that we have not, as many people claim, taken our non-violent and constitutional methods from Ghana; no, we have learned these from the example of the American Negro in American society.

There are two other points I would like to mention; it would grieve my soul not to do so. Every society, every stage in the social development of societies, has its own apparatus of cultural and educational diffusion. To apply the university standards and requirements of highly and technically specialized and economically differentiated societies like Britain and the United States to the schools of an emergent and pioneer society like Nigeria, would be to confound the purpose of education and to arrest the flight of creative thought. The specialization and scholasticism of your country are not the pressing needs of mine. The nuclear physicists are vital to the progress of your societies. We would not know what to do with them in Nigeria, because our social problems are different. We want pioneers, not specialists.⁹⁵

Dr. Horace Mann Bond pointed out that:

⁹⁵American Society of African Culture, pps. 225 - 227.
(Remarks on "Education")

The English system trains an elite. One of the problems of the Prime Minister of Ghana is that students think they are an elite; and the Director of Education of Ghana said that that is just what they are training - an elite.⁹⁶

Kwa Owuna Hagan, National Secretary, People's Educational Association, Ghana, however, responded:

In Ghana, some American educational standards are considered low. We wish to avoid any low standards in order that our university might achieve international standing. You see our dilemma, in West Africa, of trying to maintain very high standards and at the same time trying to produce large numbers of trained personnel for our ambitious development problem.⁹⁷

It is as well to take into account the audience for whom some speeches and letters are intended. In Azikiwe's letter to Dr. Farrell, and in his speeches to Lincoln alumni, he leaves the impression that his new university is run exclusively on the American plan, with American advice and assistance. This is not quite the case, according to Karl W. Bigelow, of Columbia University:

The moving spirit in this enterprise, Dr. Azikiwe - erst-while Prime Minister of the Eastern Region and now President of the Federal Nigerian Senate - has all along been eager to make use of American ideas and practices. The Provisional Council of the new institution accordingly includes Americans as well as Nigerians and Britons. And it has now been agreed that while the university will, from the outset, grant its own degrees, it is to enjoy the sponsorship of Michigan State University and the University of London. . . . It is hoped that two-week seminars may be held in the late summer, attended by Nigerian, American and British experts, at which plans for the conduct of each of the major divisions of the university may be hammered out.⁹⁸

Dr. Bigelow also mentions that:

Now approaching conclusion is the work of a joint commission to study the future of postsecondary education in Nigeria, the members of which represent that country, the United Kingdom, and

⁹⁶Ibid. p. 231. (Discussion on "Education")

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Ibid.

the United States. Further, I may be permitted to mention a co-operative program for the strengthening of teacher education in Africa, with which I myself am to be associated and in which Teachers College, Columbia University, will be joined with the Institute of Education of the University of London and six institutes and departments of education at African university colleges and colleges.⁹⁹

It seems reasonable to conclude that, because of Lincoln University, American education is gaining ground in Nigeria. This is particularly true of the Eastern Region, both because its favourite son, Azikiwe, advocates it strongly, and because so many Ibo have gone there. This influence may spread, particularly in the Western Region, although the conservative north may cling to the British tradition. Both Nigerian students interviewed at Lincoln stated that Azikiwe is respected throughout the length and breadth of Nigeria, now that he is above partisan politics. One of these students was a Yoruba.

It also seems clear that, despite some of his public speeches about education for the masses, and his earlier, youthfully radical views on a new and dynamic type of education for his country, Dr. Nkrumah is not completely convinced that education of the Lincoln standard is quite good enough for Ghana. The views of the various African leaders on education assume more importance than we are inclined to give them when one reflects that in newly emergent nations education is a prime requisite for economic growth and for political stability. Private funds are rarely available. The government must pay and therefore the government believes it has the right to formulate policy.

⁹⁹Ibid. p. 210.

Political Impact

Has Lincoln University had any effect in other fields? On the occasion of Lincoln University's centenary celebration in 1954, Nnamdi Azikiwe said:

My country has also benefitted a great deal from the Lincoln tradition. Up till twelve months ago, Nigeria, with an area of 372,000 square miles and a population of 32 million - which is the largest in all Africa, the fourth in the British Commonwealth of nations, and the thirteenth in the world, was still at the lowest rung of the ladder of constitutional advance. Then a constitutional crisis took place, and our leaders were invited by her Britannic Majesty's Government to visit London for a round table conference. After deliberations, an agreement was reached to the effect that Nigeria should become a federation of three internally autonomous States. The federation was modelled after those of Switzerland, the United States and Australia.

The federal government will exercise certain specified powers, leaving the residuary to the States-members of the federation. It was also agreed that, on or before August 31, 1956, any member of the federation can become fully self-governing, provided the existence of the federation is not impaired. This means that each state has complete autonomy in respect of its internal affairs, leaving foreign relations, defence and currency to the British government until 1956, when we shall decide whether to remain or not in the British Commonwealth.¹⁰⁰

Again, we must beware of taking speeches too literally. Most of the speeches by British West African leaders quoted so far were given to Lincoln audiences, or while the speakers were being honored by Lincoln University. Good manners alone would dictate favourable, if not flattering, comments. But have British West African leaders in fact put into practice the principles they learned in the United

¹⁰⁰Lincoln University - Alumni File.

States? We have noted their use of oratory and of the press as means of swaying the masses. They are dedicated to "organization", a sort of production line of political propaganda, to gain their ends. Yet the spectacle of the aesthetic and British-educated Chief Awolowo electioneering from a helicopter gives one pause. He did not learn that device in England.

Azikiwe states that the Nigerian constitution was modelled after that of the United States, but he also includes Switzerland and Australia. All those countries contemplating a democratic form of government since 1786 have had a look at the American constitution, particularly if a federal structure seemed indicated. Azikiwe was in no position to dictate what form the Nigerian government should take. Probably he would have preferred a unitary structure with himself as head of government. It is to his credit that he realized the Northern and Western Regions would never agree to this and apparently put his ambition under the rein of his patriotism.

One must remember that these men were born and brought up in Africa and received their initial education under a British system. Traces of the latter still remain - "honour" rather than "honor"; "whilst" where an American would say "while", etc. Furthermore, they were mature when they went to the United States: Azikiwe was 21, Nkrumah 26. They were at an age where they were able to discriminate, at least to some extent, and to choose those ideas which best suited the philosophy of life which each had already formed. Azikiwe spent nine years in the United States and Nkrumah spent ten. Certainly such a span of years left a good impression, but not so great an impression as if these years had encompassed their adolescence.

When each returned to his native land, he was not able to change its form of government. Both were obliged to work within the framework of British institutions and both accepted this challenge and have not so far shown any inclination to Americanize their respective political institutions. It is true that both Ghana and Nigeria have become republics but beyond doubt they owe more to the Indian example than to the United States in this regard. Having freed themselves from colonial dominance they had no wish to acknowledge any outsider as head of government. The real difference between the newly emergent British African colonies of today and the American colonies of yesteryear is the fact that the African states actually wish to remain associated with Great Britain and they are quite willing to recognize the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth.

Why should they not? The Commonwealth is an easy, informal sort of club whose membership costs only goodwill. Everyone wants to belong somewhere, to be accepted as a friend and an equal. The Commonwealth is the only international organization extant to-day where this is possible. African nations know that they can make themselves heard in the United Nations and they value membership in that organization; but they also know perfectly well that they wield little or no influence when their ideas are in conflict with those of the two great powers.

In the Commonwealth, on the other hand, they do exert influence. It is true that the secession of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961 was only the realization of an ambition which Afrikaner nationalists had held for years; that Verwoerd was delighted with the excuse which Asian, African and Canadian criticism enabled him to present to

South Africans of British extraction for leaving the Commonwealth. Nonetheless, the fact remains that black Africans were "in" and white South Africans were out. They belonged and were apparently preferred to their white arch-enemies who were so much closer in ties of blood, race and social habits than they were themselves. For once right had triumphed. Moral principles were reaffirmed. The dignity and equality of man seemed firmly established without fear or favour.

The Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conferences are the show-pieces of this organization but there are other, less publicized but probably more useful, evidences of Commonwealth co-operation. Conferences are frequently held on matters educational, economic and judicial. The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund makes a valuable contribution. A British passport is still a useful device. There is also a feeling of kinship, difficult to define but nonetheless very real, amongst all of us who share British educational, political and judicial traditions.

The one thing of which Nigerians are proud is that they have gained their ends by constitutional means and that they live by the rule of law. By and large this is British law with Nigerian refinements. Azikiwe said in 1953 that Britain had offered self-government to a colony for the first time "on a platter of gold". Nigerians have been correspondingly grateful. Relations have remained cordial and one imagines that, as with India, they will become more so. There are so many ties, both economic and historical, and no pressure is applied to enforce them. Africans of the former British territories have only to compare their lot with that of their neighbours to

realize how fortunate they have been. Close at hand they see Angola, the fiasco in the Belgian Congo, what they call the neo-colonialism of the French and so on. Southern Rhodesia is still a sore spot, to be sure, but as this is being written there is some doubt as to whether the Prime Minister of that country will even be invited to the forthcoming Prime Ministers' Conference. If he is not invited, it will appear to be another moral triumph for Black Africa.

The point of these observations is, of course, that nations do not cast off familiar habit patterns unless these have proved very unsatisfactory, or unless they are forced to do so. No one can say with any degree of assurance what will happen tomorrow in Africa but present indications are that they will not adopt a new American culture overnight.

This is particularly true of Ghana. It seems doubtful if life at Lincoln University ever changed the ideas or ideals of Kwame Nkrumah one jot. He merely used the opportunity to study ways and means for attaining his original goals. In 1953, he said in an interview:

"In my ten years in the States, I tried to learn all I could about the American system - all phases of it".

He was impressed by the energy of America, and by the "drive" which impels everyone to better their condition. He sought to learn its secrets.

"I studied your Philadelphia politics", he said "and your labor unions; the way they are organized and the way they operate.

"I went to Communist meetings and socialist meetings and Republican meetings, the way they get out the vote, the way they work with other groups, the way they can bring pressure to bear . . . it was all most useful".¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹Ibid. (Pennsylvania Evening Bulletin, October 12, 1953)

In 1947, Nkrumah was in London and produced a political blueprint of his plans and his beliefs. In it he says:

It is, therefore, in this alone that the hope of freedom and independence for the colonies lies. But how to achieve this? First and foremost, Organization of the Colonial Masses.

The duty of any worthwhile colonial movement for national liberation, however, must be the organization of labour and of youth; and the abolition of political illiteracy. This should be accomplished through mass political education which keeps in constant contact with the masses of colonial peoples. This type of education should do away with that kind of intelligentsia who have become the very architects of colonial enslavement. . . .

The organization must root itself and secure its basis and strength in the labour movement, the farmers (the workers and peasantry) and the youth. . . .

It must have its own press. It cannot live separately from, nor deviate from the aims and aspirations of the masses, the organized force of labour, the organized farmers, and the responsible and cogent organization of youth.¹⁰²

Upon his return to the Gold Coast, Kwame Nkrumah applied this know-how" with results which have since become history. Like Azikiwe, he was obliged to work within a British constitutional framework and did so skillfully. Three years after independence he felt strong enough to make changes in the constitution which the British had "imposed" on Ghana. At first glance it might seem that Dr. Nkrumah was applying the political principles he had learned at Lincoln but a closer inspection lends little support for this view. It is true that Ghana became a republic but not, as at least one member

¹⁰²Kwame Nkrumah, Towards Colonial Freedom (London: Heinemann, 1962), p. 41.

of the staff at Lincoln confidently expected, outside the British Commonwealth.¹⁰³ Nor did Ghana become a republic simply in emulation of the United States:

. . . I am an African, a member of a country which has but recently broken the shackles linking it to Britain. We had, however, retained the link with the monarchy, but our orientation towards the continent of Africa made it an anachronism. It was out of keeping with the full meaning of our independence: it symbolized an hierarchical pinnacle that no longer had any reality in the Ghana-Britain relationship. It injected a falsity into our relationship with the states on our continent. We are committed to the pursuance of an African Union. We are obliged in our affiliations to consider their effect upon our progress towards this cardinal goal.¹⁰⁴

As to remaining in the Commonwealth, Dr. Nkrumah said in 1958:

¹⁰³Lincoln University - Alumni File: Report of Donald C. Yelton, Acting President of Lincoln University on the Inauguration of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria, 16 November, 1960: Dr. Azikiwe's acknowledgment of the determining influence of British political institutions was explicit and cordial, and left little doubt in this observer's mind that his Oath of Allegiance was wholehearted and that in his mind at any rate Commonwealth membership is not, as it was for Ghana, a mere way-station on the road to republican government outside the Commonwealth system.

Dr. Yelton's estimate of Azikiwe's intentions has so far proved correct. Dr. Nkrumah has surprised Dr. Yelton and many others by his apparent approval of Commonwealth membership for Ghana.

¹⁰⁴Kwame Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite (London: Heinemann, 1963), pps. 80 81.

Some Americans have expressed surprise that Ghana, after emerging from colonial status, should choose of its own free will to remain within the Commonwealth and thus - amongst others - in partnership with the United Kingdom which, the day before yesterday, was still colonial overlord. But we believe that the evolving form of the Commonwealth is an institution which can work profoundly for peace and international co-operation. It is the only organic world-wide association of peoples in which race, religion, nationality and culture are all transcended by a common sense of fellowship. No policies are imposed on it from above. It does not even seek unity of policy. But it provides a unique forum in which men of different culture and different approach can sit down together and see what can be done to lessen tensions and to increase the economic and social well-being of themselves and their neighbours. This is not a bloc. It is not a power grouping. It is a club or family of friends who see their continuing friendship as a strand of peace in a troubled world. It is because the Commonwealth is this kind of association that Ghana was happy to become its first independent African member on the basis of free association and unfettered sovereignty.¹⁰⁵

Dr. Nkrumah says that he and his colleagues deliberated many months about whether to have an honorary head of state plus an effective premier, as in India or the Soviet Union, or to combine the two as the United States does. He believed his people would not understand a merely titular Head of State and in fact, says that such a position is a meaningless fiction, without content. He chose to follow the American example. It is difficult, however, to imagine Dr. Nkrumah acknowledging any man as his social superior, as he would be obliged to do with an honorary president. It is even more difficult to imagine him being content, as Azikiwe apparently is, with an honorary position devoid of power. In reality, the decision probably owes less to the excellence of the American example than it does to Nkrumah's own personality.

¹⁰⁵Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 44.

Nor are the two positions really identical. Ghanaians have allowed their president reserve powers which the American people would never grant to theirs. The form of government, moreover, is still British, except for the fact that the President is not a member of the National Assembly.

The essence of the Constitution which we are asking you to approve is that Ghana is a sovereign, unitary Republic, that there is a President responsible to the people and a cabinet to assist him which is chosen from amongst Members of Parliament.¹⁰⁶

If Nkrumah was really following an American example, he seems to have misread it. He says:

In a democracy, the real leader of the country is the man who has been democratically elected as leader of the party which commands a majority in Parliament. . . .¹⁰⁷

One has only to think of President Wilson's dilemma in 1918 to see the discrepancy. Nor do the American President's advisors have to hold seats in the House of Representatives. In short, the Ghanaian constitution seems to be built on a British base with a distinctively African superstructure.

There is, however, one political concept on which African leaders educated at Lincoln agree wholeheartedly with their American mentors - a belief in what one might call grass-roots democracy. They have never considered themselves an elite in the sense that those educated in

¹⁰⁶Ibid. p. 207.

¹⁰⁷Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, p. 82.

Britain have done, The dizzy political heights to which they have climbed have not undermined this faith. It is interesting to note that Awolowo, for example, scarcely bothers to conceal his contempt for the masses. He claims that the educated minority are qualified by "natural rights" to lead the masses in each ethnic group.¹⁰⁸ Leaders in Northern Nigeria have been like the English Whigs in the early nineteenth century. They are prepared to give a little in order to hold on to what they have.

African leaders are fond of saying that Africa has been historically democratic and, in a way, this is true. Public opinion has usually been consulted in one way or another. Chiefs had much power but they could be, and frequently were, destooled when they overstepped their authority. Nkrumah and Azikiwe may very well have had this faith in the masses before they ever left Africa, particularly since they came from that class themselves. If this is so, life in the United States can only have served to reinforce their beliefs. Certainly they have remained firm in this particular aspect of their political philosophy. It seems reasonable to assume that this is one area where Lincoln University can claim to have had some influence.

It is doubtful, however, that Lincoln University would care to take credit for the way Dr. Nkrumah has put his political principles into practice. What he calls "democratic centralism" looks very like a form of dictatorship to them. Nkrumah and many other African leaders insist that the essence of democracy is discussion. There is discussion

¹⁰⁸Obafemi Awolowo, Path to Nigerian Freedom (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1947), p. 64.

within the party and all are allowed to participate. Once a decision has been taken, however, the wishes of the majority must be carried out. An opposition party is allowed to exist in Ghana but its influence is undermined by subtle means and its leaders effectively silenced. Dr. Nkrumah, and other African leaders, claim that in a newly emergent state everyone is striving for the same objectives; that divisive influences are not necessary and may be positively harmful. Only two of the new African states, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, maintain a system of parliamentary democracy. Chief Awolowo, educated in Britain and Azikiwe, educated at Lincoln University, have been the staunchest supporters of the two-party system. Awolowo says:

Democracy and a one-party system of government are, in my opinion, mutually exclusive. Under a one-party system the party in power arrogates to itself the right to be the only ruling party for all time. . . .

Unless an Opposition, as a "Shadow Cabinet" which is capable of replacing the Government exists, democracy becomes a sham . . . Failure to tolerate the existence of an Opposition party would be disastrous to the existence of democracy. (Dr. Azikiwe). ¹⁰⁹

We have noted that Nigeria has evolved a federal form of government. This presupposes a division of powers to different levels of government, a constitutional definition of these various rights, the existence of a rule of law, and an independent judiciary to maintain it. Nigerians hold these concepts dear. When Nigeria was contemplating a change to a republican form of government, the question arose as to what changes would be necessary in the existing structure of government. Dr. Azikiwe, then Governor-General, made a policy speech in late 1961:

¹⁰⁹Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism (New York: Frederick A. Prager, 1963), p. 124.

My optimism is based on the fact that an equitable distribution of power between the Head of State and Head of Government in a republican government would make it possible for man to exercise power over man in a manner that would insulate those who exercise such power from becoming victims of temptation to succumb ultimately to excesses in exercising power which goads one not only to continue to seek for more power but to become power-drunk and ultimately emerge into a full-fledged dictator. Events in certain parts of Africa point to this direction.¹¹⁰

It might be noted in passing that in all instances where a parliamentary system has given way to a strong presidential system, the original structure was unitary. Ghana began it all, Dr. Nkrumah has never been able to see any unity in diversity. He insists that the various regions yield their sovereignty to the centre, even as he is prepared to yield Ghanaian sovereignty to a United States of Africa. Here again the setting is important. Nkrumah claims that Ghana is too small and too poor to support regional as well as federal governments; that the Ashanti and other malcontents must learn that they cannot afford to behave like Texans and must harness their desire for self-expression to the general good. One wonders if a little more leeway on the American plan might not have proved more satisfactory; but on this point Dr. Nkrumah is adamant.

Since such Western culture as the former British West Africa possesses is an Anglo-Saxon culture, the Anglo-Saxon powers, in particular the United States, have been hurt and disappointed that these new nations persist in following a policy of neutralism and non-alignment in international affairs. They seem to feel a little more gratitude might be expected from those whom they have so carefully

¹¹⁰Arnold Rivkin, The African Presence in World Affairs (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 134.

nurtured and instructed. Africans do not feel grateful. They point out that they are merely following the same policy that America followed in the nineteenth century. They do not wish to be involved with either side. Although more than one prominent West African leader has indicated that he is neutral on the side of the West, this does not mean that he is anti-Russian.

Nevertheless it would appear that a culture imposed over a sufficient period of time tends to remain strong. Language is a powerful determinant. Colin Legum describes graphically the immense gulf between the English and French speaking delegates at the Congresses of Negro Writers and Artists at the Sorbonne in 1956 and in Rome in 1959. The English-speaking delegates found the French Africans distastefully high-flown and the French delegates found the English speaking Africans ridiculously pragmatic, even as the white French and English are wont to do. The American Negroes did not fit in with either group. One of them, Dr. Mercer Cook, was provoked (by Césaire) into interrupting proceedings by demanding aloud, "I ask myself, what am I doing in this outfit?"

Economic Impact

In the realm of economics also, the principles taught at Lincoln University and those practised in Africa are very different. Africans, like all the rest of the world would very much like to emulate the United States in this regard. But African circumstances are very different. None of them has the immense and varied resources necessary for an economic breakthrough on the American pattern. Still less do they have capital for development or the skilled labour force

to exploit those natural resources they do possess. Capitalistic enterprise is simply not suitable nor, they feel, desirable, in Africa. They believe Marxist doctrine, moderated to "African Socialism" is the only solution to their economic problems.

Before independence, African leaders demanded Africanization of both public and private sectors of the economy. Now they must try to fulfill this ideal condition themselves. It is a formidable task, for it implies a complete social transformation. The cost of training and educating the required personnel is bound to be enormous. There will undoubtedly be pressure to increase wages for those who have acquired new skills. At the same time, since all African states have declared a policy of egalitarianism, there will be pressure to establish a welfare state. In addition there are two further problems which will be difficult to explain to the masses, in view of the nationalistic pronouncements which the leaders themselves made before independence. The first is the danger that expatriates may be driven to leave before African replacements are available. The second is the fear that an excess of nationalism may frighten away much-needed foreign capital.

Summary

With this background, is it possible to establish any concrete instances where Lincoln University has influenced the leaders of British West Africa? Politically the answer seems to be "no". We cannot say, for example, that Nigeria is a federal republic to-day because Azikiwe went to Lincoln University, which happened to be situated in a federal republic. No more can we say that Ghana became

a republic, headed by a president with strong powers because Lincoln professors convinced Nkrumah that this was the best form of government. We might perhaps say that British West Africa gained its independence more quickly because these two men went to the United States and there learned the technique of mass organization.

This uncertainty does not, however, rule out the possibility that influence of a strong but subtle nature does exist, will continue to exist and, in fact, will probably become much stronger. The basic fact is that Africans are oriented towards Africa. Whatever political philosophy they have absorbed under Western influence, whether Oxonian or Lincolnian, has been given an African twist. But it is also a fact that African nations exist, and for the foreseeable future, will continue to exist in a world that was created by the West. They have adjusted to this circumstance and will undoubtedly continue to do so.

New African nations need friends, they need help, and they need advice. Where will they obtain them? Ties with Britain have remained surprisingly strong and will probably grow stronger within the framework of the Commonwealth, now that bitterness is receding. They have accepted aid and advice from Russia, Israel, China, etc., but the natural source for these essentials is - the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world: the United States of America. This is all the more true because they share a common language and Africans have been exposed to Anglo-Saxon political and cultural traditions.

Direct economic aid from the United States to emergent nations is too familiar to require more than brief mention; but

generosity does not always endear the donor to the recipient.

Economic influence can, however, exist in other, more subtle ways.

According to K. O. Mbadiwe:

But the reason so many American companies are building plants in Nigeria perhaps is that so many of our leaders were educated in America and these things are coming through these old roots.¹¹¹

Under colonial rule an American education was a handicap, unless one were satisfied to be a clerk. When Azikiwe applied to the Nigerian government for a position as a teacher at King's College in Lagos in 1934, his application was rejected. The pendulum has now swung the other way, at least in Nigeria, and Azikiwe has been instrumental in swinging it in this direction.

Since independence, the influence of Lincoln University has grown, and this in most friendly fashion. Dr. Horace Mann Bond has been invited to Nigeria many times to give counsel and advice. In his letter to Dr. Farrell, Dr. Azikiwe stated that the United States government and Michigan State University were co-operating with him in running his new university. Lincoln alumni are prominent in government and in educational institutions, particularly in the Eastern Region. This may be due in part to Dr. Azikiwe's influence, or it may simply be that the majority of those who have come to Lincoln University have been Ibos. In any case, so long as they are in positions of authority it seems likely that they will preserve and extend Lincoln's influence, particularly in the education of coming generations of Nigerian youth. A great many already seem to have been indoctrinated with the idea that an American education is necessary

¹¹¹Lincoln University - Alumni File.

for success in public life.

It is interesting to note that when Ghana wanted advice on education, Dr. Nkrumah called in the British. When he wanted advice on banking he called in American advisors. Mr. Hagan has explained that Ghana wants nothing but the best in its educational institutions. However, Dr. Nkrumah may well be forced to lower his sights. Education of the type envisaged by Ghana poses problems. To begin with, it creates an élite. Should this body grow out of proportion to the number of positions appropriate to their training, it would constitute a very dangerous element of discontent. Another danger is that a disproportionate amount of money will be spent on university showplaces. This, coupled with the goal of universal primary education and scarcity of financial resources, is almost bound to penalize secondary and technical education - the very fields which are most necessary to a sound economic and political structure. The fact that Dr. Nkrumah has recently asked the wife of Dr. Laurence Foster of Lincoln University for advice on elementary education generally, and on text books in particular, may indicate that he is revising his educational opinions.

To sum up: it is almost impossible to point to specific instances of Lincoln University's influence upon the leaders of British West Africa but one must not discount the power of ideas. Ideas are like seeds; they take a long time to germinate, to grow, to bring forth a recognizable product. It has been noted, for example, that Azikiwe left Lincoln University a bitter man - although it should also be noted that he was at least as bitter against American Negroes as he was against white imperialists. As the years went by he seems to have forgotten the bad and remembered the good that he found at Lincoln

and in America. He sends his relatives to school there, he keeps in touch, makes donations, visits Lincoln when he can and brought nearly thirty Lincolnians over to rejoice with him when Nigeria gained its independence.

Since the young Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe set out for the United States in 1925, many others have followed in his footsteps; and most have since become political leaders. This leads one to suppose that Lincoln University must have given them something that proved useful in a West African context. In the remarks of Dr. Davidson Nicol, quoted in the introduction to this study, the Principal of Sierra Leone said that he suspected Lincoln University must have laid a good deal of emphasis on self-help, pragmatism and nationalism.

The effect of American anti-imperialism on African students and the consequent stimulation to a more extreme form of nationalism have been dealt with at some length. The word "pragmatism", however, with its political connotation is not usually applied to Americans; rather it is considered to be a British political virtue. If Dr. Davidson is using the word according to the Oxford dictionary definition as a "doctrine that the conception of an object is no more than the conception of its possible practical effects", then perhaps it is applicable. Americans are undoubtedly practical in most areas, and they are ingenious. Dr. Nkrumah has paid tribute to the efficiency of American political organization. Dr. Azikiwe has not paid formal tribute but he has used American political and journalistic techniques. As to self-help, Vincent Ikeotuonye has described graphically the effect that mistaking the Dean of the Faculty of Education for a porter had on him.

When Azikiwe and Nkrumah returned to Africa, Britain had already promised self government. Whether these Lincoln graduates merely speeded up the process with their American "dynamics" and whether this was a good thing or a bad, need not concern us here. The fact is that they not only brought about self government more quickly than anyone had thought possible, they gained independence as well.

Having obtained their objective, Lincoln alumni in West Africa might well have dismissed Lincoln University from their thoughts. The interesting thing is that they have not done so.

Mention has been made of the services of Dr. Bond and Mrs. Foster in the educational field. Dr. Foster himself has been recruited to give advice on social work and politics in Ghana. Lincoln University is a small college whose staff usually has to take some share in the administrative load as well as performing their classroom duties. Obviously they cannot all be spared to run over to West Africa to act as advisors but a surprising number have done so. In addition, many of their students go over to give their services as members of the Peace Corps or of Operation Crossroads Africa. This latter project has been described as "an endeavor in the building of bridges of friendship and understanding with people of the emerging nations where very few such relationships and bridges of understanding have previously existed."¹¹² Both organizations live and work with the common people as one of them, give help and advice and ask nothing in return. So long as the personnel remains good, there is every

¹¹²Lincoln University Bulletin, Fall and Winter, 1963-64, p.12.

reason to expect that these dedicated people will succeed in establishing outposts of American culture in what was once British West Africa.

It would seem that the influence of Lincoln University has been much greater upon Nigeria than upon Ghana or Sierra Leone because a greater number of Nigerians have gone there and because Dr. Azikiwe is a keen alumnus. Dr. Nkrumah has not been so enthusiastic as far as one can tell from the files at Lincoln; but lack of documentary evidence is not necessarily conclusive.¹¹³ According to Dr. Kuehner, when Dr. Bond went to Accra to celebrate independence with his former student, he was the last to leave an official reception given for Richard Nixon, who represented the United States. As he was leaving, Dr. Nkrumah shook Dr. Bond warmly by the hand and said: "Lincoln University has done a great deal for the United States in West Africa."¹¹⁴

Therein probably lies the importance of Lincoln University's impact upon British West African leaders and upon West Africa as a whole. In addition to education, Africans found kindness, acceptance, assurance that intelligent Americans shared their own belief in the

¹¹³Interview with Dr. Donald C. Yelton, April 1, 1964. Dr. Yelton states that, unlike Azikiwe's, Nkrumah's gifts to the university have been token - Ghanaian postage stamps, an autographed copy of his Autobiography, etc.

¹¹⁴Interview with Dr. Kuehner, April 1, 1964.

equality of man. They saw for themselves the bitterness of racial strife in America; but they saw also that white Americans are not always to blame; that a black skin is not necessarily a guarantee of moral integrity nor a white skin of moral depravity. Most American-educated Africans seem to agree with Dr. Martin Luther King that it is not God's purpose to substitute a black tyranny for a white one. Understanding and sympathy between two races is probably as great a contribution as any university can hope to make.

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